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THE AMERICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION

AND THE AMERICAN YOUTH

FORUM

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THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
AND THE SOUTHERN NEGRO
1861-1888

A THESIS

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of Emory University

By

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Emory University

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THIS

Page

Page

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Richard Eugene Drake

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES	1
II. THE ASSOCIATION AND THE BUREAU	37
III. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ASSOCIATION.	76
IV. PLANTING CONGREGATIONALISM	113
V. THE ASSOCIATION AND THE FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS . . .	152
VI. THE ASSOCIATION AND THE SOUTH'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	186
VII. THE ASSOCIATION AND THE NATION	213
MAP OF A.M.A. ACTIVITIES IN 1873	249
CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES.	250
APPENDIX A: OFFICERS OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION 1846-1890.	288
APPENDIX B: EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, 1857-1888, WITH THE LEADERS AND BENEFACTORS OF THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS.	296

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES OF THE BENEVOLENT AID SOCIETIES CONTRIBUTING TO NEGRO EDUCATION, 1861-1889	275
II. SECULAR AND DENOMINATIONAL FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES.	277
III. EXPENDITURES BY THE A.M.A. DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1860's SHOWING THE INCREASING EMPHASIS UPON THE SOUTHERN FREEDMEN.	278
IV. THE DEBT OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.	279
V. RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, 1846-1890	280
VI. CONSTITUTIONAL SET-UP OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION	281
VII. CHURCHES SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, 1861-1890.	282
VIII. MISSIONARIES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, 1861-1889	284
IX. THE EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION	285
X. PUBLIC FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO SCHOOLS FOUNDED AND STAFFED BY THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION	286

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION AND THE SOUTHERN NEGRO, 1861-1888

CHAPTER I

THE FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES

The guns signaling the war that was to free the slave had scarcely begun to sound when abolitionist groups in the North began to redirect their endeavors toward aiding those Negroes who had fled their former homes to seek the protection of the Union army. Many benevolent societies sprang up to aid the Negro and of these the American Missionary Association was the foremost. A total of twenty million dollars was spent by the various benevolent and governmental organizations to help the ex-slave during and immediately after the Civil War. The Association contributed over one quarter of the amount.

In the history of the American Missionary Association September third has been an important day. On that date in 1861 the Rev. Lewis C. Lockwood was sent to open the work of the Association among the Negroes near Fort Monroe

in Virginia. Fifteen years before this, on September third, 1846, a meeting was held in Albany, New York, which united three smaller missionary societies to form the American Missionary Association. These three groups, the Committee for West Indian Missions, the Western Evangelical Missionary Society, and the Union Missionary Society,¹ set the tone and the initial direction of the A.M.A.'s activities. Holding staunchly to abolitionist principles, all three societies had witnessed against the compromising attitude toward slavery taken by the great missionary boards,² and the Association continued in this anti-slavery tradition for the next half generation. From its inception, then, the American Missionary Association was strongly anti-slavery in sentiment, though it was a missionary society in essence.

The leadership which dominated the Association in the early years portrayed its evangelical abolitionist

¹This was a group growing out of the Amistad Committee. In 1839 the slaves aboard the Spanish slaver Amistad mutinied, only to be captured off Long Island by a U.S. warship and taken to New London, Connecticut. The Amistad Committee was organized by S.S. Jocelyn, Joshua Leavitt, and others to defend the slaves, and the case was taken to the Supreme Court. John Quincy Adams acted as the attorney for the case, and a decision favorable to the Committee was received in 1841.

²Both the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society accepted money from slave-holders, and both allowed their missionaries to own slaves.

sentiments. Lewis Tappan was its prime mover and first treasurer. Gerrit Smith served on the committee which called for the organizational meeting at Albany.³

S.S. Jocelyn and Joshua Leavitt, members of the Amistad Committee, were also prominent. William Jackson, an anti-slavery leader in Boston, became its first President. Soon after its formation Professor George Whipple of Oberlin, a Lane Rebel⁴ and confidant of Theodore Weld, was called to be Corresponding Secretary. In these early years Oberlin College, a beacon light of western abolitionism, was very closely related to the American Missionary Association. Two of the three parent societies making up the Association were largely of Oberlin origin,⁵ and until 1860 ninety percent of the Association's workers were

³Lewis Tappan, History of the American Missionary Association: its Constitution and Principles (New York, 1855), p. 20.

⁴The Lane Rebels were a group of young men who were dismissed from Lane Theological Seminary in the early 1830's over the issue of abolitionism. The group was led by Theodore Weld to Oberlin where they were trained under the theological guidance of Charles E. Finney. Most of the Lane Rebels became prominent in the abolitionist crusade from 1833 to 1840. (See Chapter II.)

⁵Robert S. Fletcher, History of Oberlin from its Foundation through the Civil War (Oberlin, 1943), I, 257. This book claims that the Committee for West Indian Missions and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society were largely Oberlinian.

former Oberlin students.⁶ The American Missionary Association was supported by the same faction of abolitionists that sponsored the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and stood opposed to the Bostonian or Garrisonian faction which controlled the American Anti-Slavery Society.⁷ The A.M.A. was made up of "Christian abolitionists" who were neither Unitarian nor rationalist, who stood between the pro-slaveryism of the old Boards and the "infidel tendencies" of the secular abolitionists.⁸

Though before the Civil War the A.M.A. may well have been more an anti-slavery society than a missionary society, its missionary activities were considerable. By 1860 it had received nearly one million dollars in funds, a sum two-thirds as large as the revenues of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and one-fourth as large as that received by the great American Board.⁹ At

⁶Michael E. Strieby, Oberlin and the A.M.A. (New York, 1891), pp. 2, 5, 9.

⁷For an extended discussion of the deep split within abolitionist ranks in the 1830's and 1840's see Gilbert H. Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York, 1933).

⁸M.E. Strieby, "40 Years of Missionary Work, Past and Present," American Missionary, XL (December, 1886), 362.

⁹Ibid. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was the first mission society founded in the United States. Begun in 1810 as an interdenominational board it was the principal benevolent society in 19th century America.

first most of the A.M.A.'s work was in the foreign field, but as time progressed, more and more of its attention became focussed on the home field. For example, the first annual report of the A.M.A. listed fifteen missionaries in Jamaica, eleven among the North American Indians, three among the Mendi in Africa, and only one on the home field—in New York City. By 1860 it had fifty foreign missionaries and 112 home missionaries.¹⁰ Of the seven areas in which the missionaries of the Association labored, four—Jamaica, West Africa, the Sandwich Islands and Siam—were overseas, and of these all but the Jamaica mission were self-sufficient by 1855. Of the three mission areas on this continent only the Indian work in the Northwest was not directly connected with the problem of slavery. The mission among the fugitive slaves in Canada, begun in 1848 and closed in 1864, met many of the same problems the Association was to face later when it moved to help the freedmen of the South. Often the white population in Canada was hostile to the activities of this mission, and the poverty of the fifty thousand fugitives near Windsor was very great. The only education these unfortunates could obtain was in the schools established by the Association.

¹⁰James Powell, American Missionary Association; Development of Its Work; Paper Presented at the National Council, Chicago, October 14, 1886 (New York, 1886), pp. 3-4.

This mission though never large—in 1848-49 it consisted of three missionaries and a budget of \$650—"laid foundations upon which the present church life of the Canadian Negro is largely built."¹¹

The home missionary work of the A.M.A. among the white people of the border states and in the Northwest was closely connected with anti-slavery agitation, and the missionaries sent to this field became leaders of abolitionism. Most of the ninety-seven missionaries reported in 1861 served as pastors of Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the Old Northwest. By the war, however, only three missionaries were stationed in Kentucky, three in Missouri and five in Kansas. Perhaps the most famous of these home missionaries were John G. Fee and Daniel Worth. Both were driven from their work by hostile Southerners. Following John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859, Fee and his colleagues were driven from Berea, Kentucky, by hostile neighbors. Worth from North Carolina was first imprisoned, then expelled for his anti-slavery preaching. The events surrounding the exile of these men have been called "the most stirring . . . in the history of the Association."¹²

¹¹Fred London, The Work of the American Missionary Association Among the Negro Refugees in Canada West, 1848-1864 (?), pp. 1-2, 5, 8.

¹²American Missionary, XV(July, 1871), 146.

The A.M.A. entered upon its greatest work when the cannon of war began at last to free the slave which the Association had been seeking for fifteen years to emancipate. When the Negro came to the Union lines in ever increasing numbers, the Association was there to meet him. Soon other societies were to stand with the A.M.A. to aid the freedmen, but the Association was first on the scene, and the last to leave.

The impulse that drew the Association to the fugitives in the Fortress Monroe-Hampton area was not their poverty, nor the need of the Negroes for education. Rather, it was the "depressed condition of religion" among them that brought this missionary association to its new field. Contrary to general impression, the work of the Association among the contrabands around Fortress Monroe was not initiated in the correspondence between Lewis Tappan and General Benjamin F. Butler in August of 1861.¹³ Tappan did write Butler at the behest of "several friends of liberty

¹³See Julius H. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education; a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, I (Washington, 1917), 268-95. Parmelee and most writers take the Tappan-Butler correspondence as the beginning point for the work. This correspondence was initiated by Lewis Tappan on August 8, 1861, and consisted of three letters written by Tappan and two by Butler between the 8th and the 19th of August, 1861. See the Butler Papers in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

hereabouts" to ask advice concerning the "organization of a committee of citizens to provide for the removal of the self-emancipated Negroes to the free states" where they might find employment as free men. Butler replied that there was "plenty of waste land for them here," and that efficiency dictated that they stay in the South. The General did appeal to Tappan to send whatever aid he and his friends might give to relieve the financial burden of the support of the contrabands. To this Tappan answered "if the philanthropic people of the North can be assured that the fugitives will never be remanded back into slavery," they might be willing to send supplies South. In his last letter to Butler on the 17th, Tappan mentioned the possibility of distributing "useful publications" and preaching to the fugitives. To this Butler remarked, "The Negroes in and about the Fortress, are well taken care of and their religious teaching cared for."¹⁴

Fortunately for the Association, and perhaps for the freedmen as well, General Butler was transferred at this time, and his place taken at the fortress by the veteran general John E. Wool. Wool proved more amenable to philanthropic meddling in his department than had Butler, but the approach to him was of such a nature that he could

¹⁴Butler-Tappan Correspondence, August 8-19, 1861.
Benjamin F. Butler Papers, Library of Congress.

not easily refuse to respond to the overtures as Butler had done. On the twenty-first of August P. Franklin Jones, Chaplain of the 1st Regiment of New York State Volunteers, wrote to the Young Men's Christian Association of New York of the "destitute and desolate" condition of the religious life of the contrabands about Fort Monroe, and suggested that "a good and faithful missionary might be sustained" among them at small expense. This letter was brought to the immediate attention of the A.M.A. by Rev. Lewis C. Lockwood who was, thereupon, sent to Washington to talk with "members of the Government". He received the approval of the Assistant Secretary of War and proceeded on to Fort Monroe armed with this official recommendation. Arriving at Fort Monroe on the third of September, 1861, he was graciously welcomed by General Wool.¹⁵

The missionary impulse to save the souls of black people was the main motivation of Lockwood's thirteen-month mission among the fugitives at Fort Monroe. That a school was begun was largely accidental. The group of "fugitives" that Lockwood began his labors among was made up of some very remarkable people. Many of them had been members of the Baptist Church in Hampton when the Confederates burned the town. These Negroes, some of them educated and many of

¹⁵American Missionary, V(October, 1861), 241. Special supplement.

them free, had fled to the protection of the Union Army. Lockwood was able to bring the latent leadership in the group to a realization of its real possibilities. Mrs. Mary Peake, a free Negro, established the first school on September 17, and continued it until her death the following spring. Other schools were established by this group largely by their own initiative, the most effective being one run by a Mr. Herbert, with the encouragement of the Association. Lockwood's greatest praise, however, was reserved for the "exhorters," the religious leaders of the fugitives. The eloquence of four of these preachers amazed Lockwood, and his reports were filled with quotations from their sermons. One of their number, William Davis, made an extended tour throughout New England and Ohio in the interests of the Association's work among the Negroes in the South.¹⁶

Lockwood's first labors were directed toward the organization of three churches and two Sunday schools in order to care for the religious needs of this group. Mrs. Peake began her day school two weeks after Lockwood's arrival, demonstrating the response of this particular group to Lockwood's leadership and the fact that the education provided in these early months was largely

¹⁶Ibid., VI (February, 1862), 30, 33; (April, 1862), 83; (June, 1862), 135; (July, 1862), 159.

furnished by the fugitives themselves. By December of 1861 the cold of the approaching winter caused the Association to send yet another kind of aid to the Southern Negroes—physical relief. In this first year over one hundred barrels of clothing were sent to the fugitives by the Association's auxiliary in Boston alone. Relief for the fugitives, thus, followed on the heels of the religious and educational work of the A.M.A.¹⁷

After the beginning made at Hampton, the Association gradually extended its work among the freedmen in other Southern areas. In the late winter of 1861 it became interested in the fugitives on the Sea Islands of Carolina. The reverend Mansfield French¹⁸ wrote regularly to the Association of the very pathetic conditions of the 15,000 ex-slaves within General T. W. Sherman's lines at or near Port Royal. When the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York was formed in February of 1862 in response to the appeals of the Port Royal fugitives, Lewis Tappan,

¹⁷Ibid., VI (February, 1862), 34.

¹⁸Mansfield French accompanied Edward L. Pierce on a tour investigating the conditions of the contrabands in various points on the Atlantic Seaboard. Mr. Pierce represented the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, and a group of Boston philanthropists, while French represented interested parties in New York City. Pierce was soon to be prominent in the organization of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, and French's labors became realized in the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York City.

Edgar Ketchum, and George Whipple, all in the employ of the A.M.A., played prominent roles in its organization.¹⁹

By the time of the Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association in October of 1862, slightly over a year after Mr. Lockwood had begun his work among the freedmen, thirteen missionaries and teachers were employed in the Hampton-Fortress Monroe area and two in the Port Royal area.²⁰ By this time, however, the activities among the southern Negroes of the recently organized freedmen's aid societies, were considerably larger than those of the A.M.A. For example, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society of Boston and the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York dispatched fifty-two teachers and labor superintendents to Port Royal in early March of 1862, and in April and May the New York Society alone sent ninety-three more.²¹

Although the New York and New England societies were the most prominent of the secular freedmen's aid societies

¹⁹American Missionary, VI (March, 1862), 58; (April, 1862), 83. Lewis Tappan served as chairman of the preliminary meeting at the Park Hotel on February 14; Edgar Ketchum not only was one of the Committee which carried the burden of actual organization, but also served as the N.F.R.A.'s first Corresponding Secretary; George Whipple was on the Clergymen's Auxiliary Committee.

²⁰16th Annual Report of the American Missionary Association (1862), p. 33.

²¹Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 272, 276.

that sprang up to meet the needs of the ex-slaves, the work of other such societies was nearly as important. The Philadelphia society was begun a month after the Boston group,²² and Baltimore early organized a society which looked largely to the care of the Negroes in Maryland. The citizens of Washington, D.C., also organized a group. In the West the principal society was the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission of Cincinnati, begun in the fall of 1862 by friends of Levi Coffin, the organizer of the underground railway in Ohio. A year later the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission was formed in Chicago,²³ and similar societies grew up in Cleveland, Detroit and other principal Western cities.

The activities of these societies were quite extensive. When combined they were considerably larger than those of the American Missionary Association. By the end of the war the New England society was supporting some 180 teachers; the New York society, over 200; Cincinnati, 80;

²²The New England Freedmen's Aid Society was formed on February 7, 1862; the National Freedmen's Relief Association was begun February 22, 1862. The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Commission, originally called the Port Royal Relief Committee, was started in March of 1862.

²³Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 277.

Chicago, 50; and Baltimore perhaps as many as 50.²⁴ At this time the Association supported 327 missionaries and teachers in the field.²⁵

There were many societies which rushed to the aid of the Negro both before and after emancipation. The exact number is difficult to determine, but one authority lists eighty-one.²⁶ Probably there were many more. In time, however, the larger societies began to develop vested interests in their portion of the "good work" in which they were engaged. In 1862, 1863 and even as late as 1864 new societies organized to aid the freedmen were welcomed by the established aid societies. But by mid-1864 it was apparent to all that this field of service was becoming crowded. The A.M.A. and the various freedmen's aid societies claimed in February of 1865 that "the several Freedmen's Aid Societies, at the North, are proper and sufficient channels for benevolences,"²⁷ and that no more were needed.

²⁴Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 273, 277, 284.

²⁵19th Annual Report (1865), pp. 18-29.

²⁶Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, pp. 299-301, lists eighty-one different societies. Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education (Nashville, 1930), p. 46, claims that there were seventy-nine aid societies.

²⁷American Missionary, IX (February, 1865), 35.

As the war drew to a close, two schemes combining the various aid societies contested for control of funds and activities involved in the crusade for the freedmen. The first, the American Missionary Association, hoped to combine all evangelical Christian benevolence into its organization. The other was an attempt by the Unitarians, Universalists and secular humanitarians to combine the freedmen's aid societies of the various cities into one great national union society. This development followed quite generally the pattern cemented in the 1840's which divided the evangelical and the Garrisonian abolitionists. To a remarkable degree, while the A.M.A. gained the support of most of the old evangelical abolitionists, the leaders of the secular abolitionists found their places with the American Freedmen's Union Commission.

Talks had begun as early as 1862 between the Boston, New York and Philadelphia societies concerning the advisability of union. On December 2, 1863, these three societies together with the Cincinnati and Chicago societies united to form the very loose and ineffective United States Commission for the Relief of the National Freedmen. In 1865 three reorganizations occurred which brought these and other societies into closer cooperation. The American Freedmen's Aid Union, The American Freedmen's Aid Commission and the American Freedmen's and Union Commission

operated successively until finally in May of 1866 the organization known as the American Freedmen's Union Commission was perfected. This Commission was made up of ten of the freedmen's aid societies in the cities of the North and the West and the American Union Commission, a society formed in 1864 mainly to help loyal white refugees.²⁸

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase was president of this organization and William Lloyd Garrison served as one of the vice-presidents. Phillips Brooks, then in Philadelphia, and Edward L. Pierce of Boston were members of the executive committee.²⁹ Richard S. Rust, later the central personality of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was then corresponding secretary of the Cincinnati branch.³⁰ At the height of its activities soon after its organization the A.F.U.C. through its auxiliaries supported 773 teachers, 307 schools, expended an annual sum of \$328,670.08 and sent to the South \$498,255.27 in supplies.³¹

Ironically, this great confederation of benevolent societies began disintegrating almost as soon as it was

²⁸Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 271.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰American Freedman, I (1866), 8.

³¹Ibid., p. 9.

formed. Its most obvious weakness resulted from the fact that in attempting to be neutral on the question of religion, it had the effect of being hostile to it. This fact resulted in the alienation of evangelical Christians at the very time it was making a concerted attempt to appeal to them. For example, it instructed its teachers that they were neither "missionaries, nor preachers, nor exhorters," and that they had "nothing to do with churches, creeds or sacraments." Yet it initially tried to have Bishop Mathew Simpson of the Methodist Church serve as the Commission's president. The Reverend J. P. Thompson of New York and Colonel C. G. Hammond of Chicago, both evangelical men, were vice-presidents. Bishop Simpson early resigned, bringing on the election of Chief Justice Chase as president, and Thompson and Hammond soon were working against the interests of the A.F.U.C.³²

On the local level the dissatisfaction with the "secular" attitude taken by the Commission toward the hiring of teachers caused embarrassment. The Western societies from the very beginning employed only members of evangelical churches as teachers.³³ In the same year that the Commission was formed, the Cincinnati branch

³²American Missionary, IX (September, 1866), 193.

³³Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 280.

withdrew from the A.F.U.C. to unite with the American Missionary Association which was more sympathetic with its position on this point. Levi Coffin, a Quaker, and Richard S. Rust, a Methodist, insisted strongly upon the evangelical position in Cincinnati. E. M. Cravath, later to become one of the most important leaders of the A.M.A., became corresponding secretary of the Cincinnati society in early 1867.³⁴

The affiliation of the Chicago office of the A.F.U.C. with the A.M.A. was less spontaneous than that of the Cincinnati society. It was important for the A.M.A. to gain control of this office, for the Chicago society controlled most of the collection channels in the Northwest. While the Association had opened an auxiliary in Chicago as early as April of 1864, few funds were forthcoming.³⁵

Although the actual merger of the Northwest Freedmen's Aid Society with the A.M.A. was not completed until 1868, for all practical purposes the Association gained this end by the appointment in March, 1866, of Jacob R. Shipherd as its Western Secretary.³⁶ Shipherd had been a secretary of

³⁴Cravath to A.M.A. offices, February 19, 1867, on letterhead of the WFAC of 1866 in A.M.A. Archives, Fisk University.

³⁵American Missionary, VIII (April, 1864), 92.

³⁶Shipherd to "Dear Brother," March 6, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

the A.F.U.C. in both the Washington and Chicago branches, and his employment in large measure turned the tide in favor of the Association in the Northwest. Because of the defection of Shipherd, Col. C.G. Hammond, a vice-president of the A.F.U.C., publicly advised the Illinois State Association of Congregational Churches to support the A.M.A.³⁷

The Cleveland Freedmen's Commission became auxiliary to the A.M.A. in January of 1867,³⁸ but its amalgamation proved to be less of a financial asset to the Association than the merger of the Chicago and Cincinnati societies. In fact, one of the principal reasons why the Cleveland group united with the A.M.A. was its inability to meet its financial obligations. When Cravath went to Cleveland in August, 1867, to wind up the affairs of the Cleveland Commission he found a note of over \$600 due in nineteen days and no foreseeable funds to meet it.³⁹ During the time when details were being worked out bringing the Cleveland society under the A.M.A., perhaps the principal problem was the jealousy which Cleveland had for Cincinnati. For a few months the Association allowed complete autonomy

³⁷Shipherd to Strieby, June 1, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

³⁸American Missionary, XI (September, 1867), 205.

³⁹Cravath to Strieby, August 12, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

to the Cleveland branch because of this feeling. Finally, however, the incapacity of the Cleveland secretary, the Rev. Edward Anderson, led to an insoluble debt, and the Cleveland office was closed in August of 1867.⁴⁰

Before its complete demise in 1869, the American Freedmen's Union Commission put up a stiff battle with the A.M.A. This warfare was fought over the benevolent revenues from Boston to Omaha, and reached fever intensity in a propaganda debate in a conference as far away as Paris, France. In May of 1866 J.R. Shipherd sent to all the Congregational churches in the Northwest a circular which claimed that the Association was the only true "national" society, and explained in some detail Shipherd's own shift of allegiance from the Commission to the Association.⁴¹ This circular seems to have inaugurated the open battle, for Lyman Abbott, Secretary of the Commission, took this as an excuse to shout "foul play." But Shipherd was not deterred. Abbott's "paper union," he wrote, "will not bear a puff of wind in the west."⁴²

Such skirmishes were not confined to the West. In

⁴⁰Cravath to Strieby, March 19, 1867, August 5, 1867 and August 8, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴¹Shipherd to Lyman Abbott, July 31, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴²Shipherd to Whipple, July 31, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

August an A.M.A. agent, C. A. Clark, launched a drive for funds in Western New York. He wrote, "I find the auxiliaryship of the U. Com. a failure," and "a strong demonstration on our behalf would scatter it to the winds."⁴³ A few weeks later he reported contradictorily that he had "passed the whole length of the Central Road from Rochester to Weedsport, without finding one opening" for the Association's work.⁴⁴ The next year a Secretary of the Association wrote from Albany, "The great effort now is to stir these pastors up so that they will not permit an agent of the Commission to steal a march upon their people."⁴⁵

The A.M.A. was able to appeal to women as efficiently as it was to pastors. One of its most outspoken supporters was a New Haven lady, a Miss H. M. Hogeboom, who became an unofficial but effective agent for the Association. In March of 1867 she reported that an "agent of the F.U.C. . . . had worked himself into a place in one of our Congregational churches" before she heard about it. He blew "a loud religious trumpet," so effectively that "good friends of mine and my enterprise bade him welcome and nearly endorsed him. . . ." But she set the whole

⁴³Rev. C. A. Clark to Strieby, August 6, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁴Rev. C. A. Clark to Strieby, September 1, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁵Strieby to Whipple, July 17, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

community "right" by telling them that his Commission was "not the Association with which our churches were in co-operation." Four days later Miss Hogeboom gloatingly spoke of "annihilating" the Commission's agent, and concluded, "I think he will not enter this field again while I am on the ground. . . ."46

The American Freedmen's Union Commission, for its part, attacked the Association for supporting "parochial schools," and the limitation it placed upon "free thinkers."⁴⁷ Serious charges were made by the A.F.U.C. concerning the propriety of governmental aid to church societies. But these cries were lost on the old Puritan, General O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau which appropriated large sums to freedmen's schools after the war.⁴⁸ Lyman Abbott wrote a long and scathing letter to General Howard in mid-July of 1867 in which he insisted that "the cardinal principle of this country . . . has been the separation of Church and State." Abbott thought that this did not permit "the appropriation of public funds for the support of religious institutions." Yet, this was being done, he claimed, and "the best men in this state are

⁴⁶Miss H. M. Hogeboom to Strieby, March 10 and 14, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁷American Missionary, X (October, 1866), 227.

⁴⁸See Chapter II.

urging . . . a clause in our Constitution forbidding such appropriations." He charged that the A.M.A. and the Baptist Home Missionary Society were getting preferential treatment at the hands of the Freedmen's Bureau, and asked, "Can you safely undertake to make appropriations out of public funds for the support of schools avowedly organized to teach denominational tenets?"⁴⁹ Howard denied that he was "liable to the charge," and concluded with some insight that "the so called Liberal Christians are as sectarian as the Episcopalians."⁵⁰ Mr. Abbott could do nothing but thank Howard for clearing up "some doubts and difficulties which had arisen in my mind."⁵¹ The hostility of General Howard to the "unsectarian" idea of the Commission may have been an important reason for the failure of the A.F.U.C. in 1869, even while the Freedmen's Bureau had large funds to distribute. Abbott's obvious lack of confidence when dealing with Commissioner Howard stands in sharp contrast with the close personal relationship which existed between Secretary Whipple and the Bureau's commissioner and suggests that perhaps personal contacts may have had as much to

⁴⁹Abbott to Howard, July 17, 1867, Letters Received, O. O. Howard Papers, Bowdoin College.

⁵⁰Howard to Abbott, July 19, 1867, Letters Sent, II, pp. 426-428, Howard Papers.

⁵¹Abbott to Howard, July 23, 1867, Letters Received, Howard Papers.

do with Howard's decisions as principles.⁵²

The high point in the conflict between the Association and the Commission, a skirmish in which the Association came off second best, occurred at the World Antislavery Conference in Paris in August of 1867. Here William Lloyd Garrison, representing the Commission, tangled in an oratorical duel with the well known Negro preacher, Sella Martin, who represented the claims of the Association. Because of his prestige among abolitionists Mr. Garrison was allotted three quarters of an hour to speak, one third of which was spent "commending the Commission." Martin was given only ten minutes in the last session but he took twenty-five minutes, and "boldly accepted Garrison's challenge," driving home the point that the Association was a religious society.⁵³ James A. Thome, who accompanied Martin, complained that Garrison was lionized, that prominence was given the Commission, and the A.M.A. "studiously cast in the shade."⁵⁴

The American Freedmen's Union Commission was finally disbanded in 1869. Following the "desertion" of the Western societies in the years from 1866 to 1868, and the

⁵²See Chapter II.

⁵³Martin to "My dear Brethren," August 29, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁴Thome to Strieby, September 9, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

demise of the New York society in 1869, the fiction of a national confederation of freedmen's societies was discarded. Several of the individual societies continued on into the 1870's, but their importance was secondary.

The failure of the American Freedmen's Union Commission can be attributed to several causes. Internally, the incongruity between the policy of sending anti-evangelical teachers to the field while attempting to appeal to evangelical Christians in the North was self-defeating. Furthermore, the Commission's leadership never seems to have grasped the extreme complexity and the magnitude of the job of educating the ex-slave. At a time when the Association was moving toward the realization that only by training Negro teachers in normal schools could the Negroes as a whole be educated, the Commission was concerned about "a common effort to establish common schools."⁵⁵ When the Commission did move from an emphasis on common schools toward the establishment of normal schools, the shift was belated and half-hearted. Even the much heralded normal schools of the A.F.U.C. in Mississippi were largely myth.⁵⁶

The developing hostility of the Freedmen's Bureau,

⁵⁵Abbott to Howard, July 23, 1867, Letters Received, Howard Papers.

⁵⁶J.M. Bardwell to Whipple, August 11, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

especially of Commissioner C. C. Howard, was certainly a factor in the failure of the Commission. But even more important was the development of various denominational societies, especially among the Methodists and the Presbyterians. After the war these societies began to tap the declining sources of support which had formerly flowed into the treasuries of the various secular freedmen's aid societies.

Before the rise of the separate denominational societies in the late 1860's, the American Missionary Association had attempted to appeal to all evangelical Christians in order to become their almoner for freedmen's aid. To a degree these appeals were successful. Even before the Congregationalists officially designated the Association in June of 1865 as the channel for its churches to aid the freedmen, both the Wesleyan Methodists and the Free Will Baptists had entered into cooperation with the A.M.A. In the few years that followed at least twelve other denominations entered for varying lengths of time into more or less close relationships with the Association.⁵⁷ Most of these denominations acting in

⁵⁷Resolutions of support of the A.M.A. were passed by the twelve following bodies:

Dutch Reformed, 1866-1868

New School Presbyterians, Utica Presbytery, 1868

Presbytery of Buffalo, 1868

Negotiations at the General Assembly of 1867

ecclesiastical assembly gave their support to the Association in the form of a resolution to its constituent churches stating that the A.M.A. was a worthy avenue for its funds. This type of endorsement could be withdrawn at the next meeting, of course. The Association's relationship with the Free Methodists, for example, was merely a promise to have that denomination's mission board cooperate with the A.M.A., "as far as practicable."⁵⁸ The Dutch Reformed Church promised that only those funds which its own board "cannot judiciously expend" would be passed on to the A.M.A.⁵⁹

came close to getting national endorsement.
See Fisk Archives, Strieby to Whipple, May 20, 1867.

United Brethren, 1868

Reformed Presbyterian, 1867

Methodist Church, Northern Illinois Conference, 1869

Free Methodist Church (Wesleyan Methodists?), 1867

Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, 1869

Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1865

United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1866

Free Church of Scotland, 1866

The Church of Scotland, 1866

Presbyterian Church, Synod of Canada, 1866

These denominations were courted and almost won for a time:

United Presbyterians, 1866

A.B.S. (Baptists [?]), 1867. See C. B. Fisk to Jocelyn, January 31, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁸Report of Committee of Missions on action of the General Conference of the (Free) Methodist Church, May 19, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁹Published statement of the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, of action taken at the General Synod in June, 1865, A.M.A. Archives.

The endorsement given the American Missionary Association by the Congregational churches was generally similar to the written type of support given by other denominations, but Congregational action extended from resolutions of support passed by church bodies on all levels of the church's organization from the association level to the National Council. The Resolution of the National Council passed in June of 1865 at Boston not only endorsed the A.M.A., along with the American Home Missionary Society and the American Congregational Union, as official Congregational mission boards, but also set a sum of \$750,000 to be raised among the churches for the support of these societies. The A.M.A. share was designated at \$250,000, a sum nearly twice as large as the entire A.M.A. budget at the time. This financial support of the Congregationalists, added to the already predominating Congregational leadership of the Association, gradually led most of the other churches to forsake the A.M.A. in favor of their own denominational boards.

The relationship between the Free Will Baptists and the American Missionary Association was of a unique nature. The former retained its own organization, the Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society. Its central offices remained in Concord, New Hampshire, and continued to solicit funds among its own churches, and expended them on teachers

of their own choosing in designated areas in the South. The principal Free Will Baptist missions were in the Shenandoah Valley and resulted eventually in the establishment of Storer College at Harper's Ferry. The Free Will Baptists maintained their relationship with the Association until 1869 when they dropped their connections, probably because the advantages of united action under the benefits of the Freedmen's Bureau were no longer available.⁶⁰

Some denominations, however, never designated the Association as the almoner for any of their funds for the aid of freedmen. The Baptists were the first of the major denominational groups of the North to give their support to a strictly denominational agency; in 1862 the American Baptist Home Missionary Society began its work among the Negroes of the South.⁶¹ Their first important work, however, was not until after the fall of Vicksburg when they undertook a mission among the Negroes of that town. Other Baptist societies sprang up during the course of the war and the years following, but in 1869 the National Convention determined that the Home Missionary Society would be the official organ for Baptist work among the Negroes.

⁶⁰Silas Curtis to Whipple, October 22, 1869; see also Circular dated November 29, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶¹Robert A. Baker, The American Baptist Home Missionary Society and The South, 1832-1894 (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1947), 269.

Their work gradually became quite significant, and eight rather important Negro colleges grew from their labors.⁶²

Although Quakers in North Carolina were providing education for Negroes a decade before the formation of the American Missionary Association, the Friends did not form their own societies to meet the needs of the Negro freedmen until 1863. In November of that year the first Friends society was formed, the Friends Association of Philadelphia and Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen. In the years that followed several other Friends' societies were formed—another in Philadelphia, one in New England and a third in Baltimore.⁶³ The Philadelphia Friends did considerable work among the colored people of North Carolina resulting in the establishment of a college at Guilford,⁶⁴ and certain Friends in the West supported Southland College in Arkansas.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, largest in membership of the Northern churches, did not form its own society

⁶²Ibid., p. 180. The Baptist colleges were Shaw University at Charlotte, Roger Williams College in Nashville, Morehouse in Atlanta, Leland in New Orleans, Benedict in Columbia, S.C., Spelman in Atlanta, Virginia Union U. at Richmond and Bishop College in Marshall, Texas.

⁶³Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 277-78.

⁶⁴F. C. Anscomb, The Contributions of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the South (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1924), pp. 51-52.

until after the close of the war. In 1864 the General Conference officially approved nondenominational work among the Freedmen. Some of its funds went to the A.M.A. during this period, but probably most of its moneys were given to the various secular freedmen's aid societies. The Rev. Richard S. Rust, later the most important leader of the Methodist society, was for a time the corresponding secretary of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission of Cincinnati. In 1866, however, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was formed, and Dr. Rust was secured as General Secretary. The General Conference withheld its official endorsement of this society for six years, but after 1872 the Methodist work grew considerably. By 1878 Dr. Rust reported the receipt of \$63,403, and the support of twenty educational institutions including Central Tennessee College in Nashville, Meharry Medical College, Centenary Biblical Institute (later Morgan College), New Orleans University, Clark University and Claflin University.⁶⁵

The main Presbyterian vehicle for Freedmen's aid was the General Committee for Freedmen's Affairs appointed by

⁶⁵See Dwight O. W. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York, 1934), pp. 103-109. American Missionary, XXXIII (January, 1879), 11; XXXIV (February, 1880), 38. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 280.

the General Assembly in 1865. Some Presbyterian aid was always channelled through the A.M.A., but the General Committee carried on a growing and significant work. In 1866 it reported fifty-five missionaries on the field, and by 1876 it was expending over \$50,000 each year on freedmen's missions. In 1879 it supported 58 teachers and 48 ordained ministers among the freedmen.⁶⁶ In 1883 the General Assembly established the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen which soon was expending twice the budget of the old General Committee for Freedmen's Affairs.⁶⁷ Yet Presbyterian work among the freedmen remained surprisingly parochial—only two good colleges resulted from their work: Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, begun before the war, and Biddle University at Charlotte, North Carolina, begun in 1867.⁶⁸

Other denominations with large Northern constituencies operated through their individual organizations for freedmen's relief. The Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1864 had five schools in Washington, D.C., and others in South Carolina and Mississippi. In 1874 they took over Knox Academy at Selma, Alabama. The United Presbyterians established

⁶⁶American Missionary, I (1877), 3; XXXIII (July, 1879), 199. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, p. 281.

⁶⁷Holmes, Evolution of the Negro College, p. 130.

⁶⁸Now Johnson C. Smith University.

a rather extensive Negro parochial school system capped with Knoxville College in Tennessee.⁶⁹ The Cumberland Presbyterians supported a quite extensive system of lower schools for Negroes, but designated Fisk University, a school supported by the American Missionary Association, as their school for "young colored men for the ministry."⁷⁰

The Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission was organized in 1865, and four years later it was reported that eighteen churches had been organized among the South Carolina Negroes alone.⁷¹ As time went on, however, this parochial emphasis changed somewhat, and by the 1880's two fine Negro schools were supported by the Episcopalians—St. Paul Normal and Industrial School in Virginia, and St. Augustine's College at Raleigh, North Carolina.

Of the Negro denominations the African Methodists were the most effective in providing schools for their members. In cooperation with the Unitarians who provided some funds, the African Methodist Episcopal Church supported four colleges by 1885 including Wilberforce in Xenia, Ohio, and

⁶⁹George S. Dickerman, "History of Negro Education," Negro Education; a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, I (Washington, 1917), 244-68. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 281.

⁷⁰American Missionary, XVIII (April, 1874), 87.

⁷¹A. A. Taylor, "Negroes in South Carolina Reconstruction," Journal of Negro History, IX (1924), 350.

Morris Brown in Atlanta. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church began Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1879, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church founded Lane College at Jackson, Tennessee, in 1878.

The activities of the several Southern denominations that aided Negro education were largely in reaction against Northern efforts and were quite meager. As early as 1866 the Episcopal Church of South Carolina, feeling that it was "best fitted" to deal with the Negro, organized a Diocesan Board of Missions to conduct religious instruction among the Negroes. Soon Virginia Episcopalians took similar action.⁷² In 1884 Southern Methodists organized Paine College at Augusta, Georgia. The Southern Presbyterians began Stillman Institute at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1875, but contributed only \$416.75 for "evangelization of the colored people" three years later.⁷³

As multifarious and extensive as the activities of the various freedmen's aid societies and the denominational agencies were, no picture of the work of the different societies would be complete without the mention of other more specialized benevolent associations, each of which contributed in its way to aid the newly emancipated Negro.

⁷²Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, I, 291.

⁷³American Missionary, I (1877), 3; XXXII (August, 1878), 232.

The Western Sanitary Commission and the larger United States Sanitary Commission both operated extensively during the war to reduce the "suffering and mortality" among the boys in blue, and Negro soldiers received the same aid granted whites.⁷⁴ During the war the United States Christian Commission ministered to the spiritual rather than the material needs of the Union soldiers of both races.

Any specific estimate of the aid given the Negro by the American Tract Society and the American Bible Society would be difficult to make. Both societies worked closely with the various benevolent associations. The A.M.A.'s correspondence, for example, contains many letters from both societies indicating a happy compliance with requests from the Association for more material.⁷⁵

After the war the Y.M.C.A. helped the Negro youth. Although the Y.M.C.A. generally took a stand in favor of segregation nationally and never approved of an all-out

⁷⁴Paul S. Peirce, The Freedmen's Bureau; a Chapter in the History of Reconstruction (Iowa City, 1904), pp. 29-30.

⁷⁵American Missionary, X (June, 1866), 123.

In 1863 the Tract Society published a memorial to Mrs. Peake written by L. C. Lockwood. American Missionary, VII (April, 1863), 92.

Furthermore in May of 1864 the Bible Society sent to the A.M.A. 12,556 copies of the Bible and Testaments in cooperation with the Association's campaign to "place a Bible in every Freedman's family" and a Testament "in the hands of every child that can read." American Missionary, VIII (July, 1864), 170.

campaign to organize Y.M.C.A. units among the colored people,⁷⁶ it did begin an evangelical work among the freedmen. The Rev. H. E. Brown, formerly an Association missionary at Talladega, went into "Y" work in the South as a travelling evangelist.⁷⁷

When the Sons of Temperance in 1867 "declined to extend their order to save men of dark skins," General Howard issued a circular to the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau instructing them to aid in the formation of the Lincoln Temperance Society. Wide interest was shown in this society and in the Lincoln Temperance Pledge, especially among the Negroes connected with the schools of the various benevolent societies.⁷⁸

Thus the benevolent people of the nation were organized into societies for the elevation of the freedmen. Among these many sectarian and secular groups the American Missionary Association was an important member. Of all the societies interested in the education of the Negro, it was the foremost. However, in the labor of placing the A.M.A.'s system of colleges and schools upon firm and permanent foundations, the close cooperation of the Freedmen's Bureau proved to be an important factor.

⁷⁶J. E. Moorland, "The Young Men's Christian Association Among Negroes," Journal of Negro History, IX (1924), 127.

⁷⁷American Missionary, XXXIV (September, 1880), 261.

⁷⁸Ibid., XI (July, 1867), 155; Alvord to Strieby, July 31, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

CHAPTER II

THE ASSOCIATION AND THE BUREAU

The selection of Oliver Otis Howard as Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands was a stroke of utmost good fortune for the American Missionary Association. Even before the Bureau was established the Association was the freedmen's aid society tapping the principal funds of Northern evangelical Christians. Now, because of a unique personal relationship with the leadership of the Bureau, the A.M.A. was able to draw upon sizeable federal funds as well. The Bureau was a virtual empire which had judicial, educational and economic power over four million ex-slaves. As it developed under the command of General Howard, this empire was in many ways a personal one. With little previous experience and no defined precedent to draw from,¹ Howard followed his own

¹Before the Bureau was established Union generals initiated at least four other systems to aid the ex-slave. General Rufus Saxton administered a program among the forty thousand Sea Island Negroes and was aided materially by the New York and New England societies. John Eaton under General Grant set up a similar system of aid to the freedmen in the Mississippi Valley. The A.M.A. was most intimately tied in with the schools administered in the Fort

whims and prejudices in determining the channels for the expenditure of the twelve million dollars over which he had authority.

Oliver Otis Howard, known as the "Christian General," had fought through the Civil War with great distinction. A wound at Fair Oaks cost him his right arm, but this did not prevent him from rendering important service to the Union cause at First and Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg with the Army of the Potomac, and at Chattanooga, Atlanta and in the March to the Sea under General William T. Sherman. Howard was Lincoln's choice for Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and after the Emancipator's assassination President Johnson honored Lincoln's wishes by appointing Howard to head the Bureau. Commissioner Howard was a Calvinist of the old sort—a Congregationalist and a graduate of Bowdoin. He saw the world as a stage for the

Monroe area. Here a concerted attempt was made by General Benjamin F. Butler to supervise the Negro schools and give some aid to them when he appointed three superintendents of Negro Affairs. All three of these superintendents, Captain C. B. Wilder, Colonel Orlando Brown and Chaplain Horace James, were closely associated with the A.M.A. for some years thereafter. A unique system was that of General Nathaniel P. Banks in Louisiana. An ambitious tax system was set up to support the Negro schools, and a Board of Education established as the governing body in which Northern benevolence and Southern unionism alike were given some voice. On this point see Amory D. Mayo, Common Schools Education in the United States (Washington, 1891-1905), pp. 416-30.

struggle between good and evil, between the elect and the damned. God, to him, was the supreme reality in history, forever interfering in the interests of righteousness. One time he wrote, "God has given us our government, and broken the power of slavery, and I try to feel thankful and give him the glory to continue to obey his behests."² Furthermore, Howard was not of the temperament to lack certainty in the enterprises in which he took part. When the First Congregational Church in Washington, D.C., was seeking funds to erect a suitable sanctuary for the nation's capital, General Howard as chairman of the building committee sent out an appeal to every Congregational church and Sunday School to "send me at least ten dollars each" to help "our patriotic, national & Christian enterprise."³ Howard, obviously, was not one to be curbed by constitutional limitations when he was doing a "holy work." General Howard looked upon his kind of people as "good people," and incapable of wrong. For example, certain friends of his were one time criticized publicly for misuse of funds. Upon hearing of it he wrote, "As to these gentlemen owning a plantation, I do not doubt it," but there was

²O. O. Howard to U.S. Christian Commission, January 20, 1866, George H. Stewart Papers, Library of Congress.

³Appeal of Howard, printed handwritten appeal dated June 10, 1867, signed O. O. Howard, Major General, A.M.A. Archives.

"no speculation in the matter."⁴ On the other hand, any person who was "bad" in his eyes did not deserve the slightest defense. He said as much to a friend when he refused to defend a Mr. Glairs, "whose true character I learned when in New York."⁵ Thus, to such a man as General Howard anyone considered as "his kind" might come to have significant influence upon him.

Although the A.M.A. did not play as large a role as some of the other freedmen's aid societies in obtaining the legislation which established the Freedmen's Bureau,⁶ the Association profited more than any other of the freedmen's aid societies from the Bureau's favors. This was partly due to a close personal friendship which grew up between Commissioner Howard and George Whipple, Senior Corresponding Secretary of the A.M.A.

Whipple had long been prominent in abolitionist circles in the North. He was a close friend of Theodore Weld with whom he was associated at Oneida Institute, Lane Theological Seminary and Oberlin College. A Lane Rebel, Whipple was one of "the thirty" who labored for the American Anti-Slavery Society in the tumultuous agencies of western New

⁴Howard to Whipple, May 8, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵Howard to Whipple, May 18, 1866, Fisk Archives.

⁶See George R. Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 30-49.

York and Ohio in the mid 1830's.⁷ Along with many other Lane Rebel Agents, he became a leader in the abolitionist movement in the 1840's.⁸ In 1846 Whipple was called from the Oberlin College faculty to be Corresponding Secretary of the American Missionary Association, a position he held until his death thirty years later. It was natural that a zealous defender of evangelical abolitionism such as George Whipple might commend himself favorably to the new Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. Furthermore, Whipple was an ordained minister in Howard's own denomination, the Congregational Church.

Probably it was John Watson Alvord who introduced George Whipple to General Howard. Alvord too was one of the Lane Rebel Agents in the 1830's and by the time of the

⁷See especially Gilbert H. Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1844 (New York, 1933), p. 233. Barnes lists the following as "the best of the Lane Rebel Agents:" Thome, Stanton, Whipple, Lyman, Gould, Wattles, Weed, Streeter, Allan, Alvord and Robinson.

⁸Henry B. Stanton was secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society from 1841-1847. After this time he entered politics in western New York first as a Free Soiler and then as a Republican. In 1868 he became one of the editors of the New York Sun. Stanton married Gerrit Smith's niece, Elizabeth Cady. August Wattles became a money raiser for the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and Samuel Gould directed that society's work among the free Negroes of the North. Marius Robinson helped Birney with the Philanthropist in 1836, and soon thereafter edited the Anti-Slavery Bugle at Salem, Ohio, a position he retained until emancipation. Huntington Lyman and William T. Allen were prominent Presbyterian ministers, and James A. Thane and Edward Weed served Congregational pulpits with distinction. By the time of the Civil War

Civil War had become a secretary of the American Tract Society.⁹ In 1864 he made a tour of the South in order to secure information on the condition of the freedmen for the Tract Society. It was probably during this tour that Alvord met Howard who was then commanding a corps of Sherman's army. They marched together across Georgia, and following the fall of Savannah Alvord helped organize the first freedmen's school in that city.¹⁰ Soon after the appointment of General Howard as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, Howard gave Alvord the position of inspector of freedmen's schools for the Bureau.

The first meeting between General Howard and Secretary Whipple seems to have been in the autumn of 1865. General Howard was thrown by the nature of his job as Commissioner of the Bureau and the friendship of some of his staff with Whipple into increasingly close contact with the Senior Secretary of the A.M.A. Through 1866 and 1867 they exchanged many letters of an official nature—concerning personnel on the field, the character of applicants, and

James W. Alvord was a secretary of the American Tract Society, and George Whipple was Senior Secretary of the A.M.A.

⁹In 1864 Alvord was considered by the A.M.A. for a position with George Whipple as Corresponding Secretary, but probably for reasons of age the position was given to M.E. Strieby. See Tappan to Whipple, July 6, 1864, Tappan Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰American Missionary, IX (November, 1865), 256.

the "Freedmen's Cause" on the home front. In this early period Colonel Orlando Brown, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau in Virginia, had such faith in Whipple's influence with General Howard that he wrote Whipple pointedly concerning the possibility of obtaining the position of Adjutant General in the Bureau office in Washington:

"If you think this thing should be done, I have no doubt but the suggestion from you with the reasons therefore communicated to Gen. Howard . . . would accomplish it."¹¹

Throughout the late 1860's the relationship between Whipple and General Howard was one of increasing respect and growing confidence. The correspondence between them reflects the feeling that the Bureau and the Association were in a common crusade and that each must help the other. They cooperated whenever possible on all levels and served together on many boards. Whipple, for example, served as a member of the Board of Trustees of Howard University, the institution which claimed most of the Commissioner's attention. He was also trustee of the Freedmen's Savings Bank and the chairman of the trustees of Hampton Institute. Howard was a faithful member of the Executive Committee of the American Missionary Association, a trustee of Hampton

¹¹General O. Brown to Whipple, January 21, 1867, A.M.A. Archives. In this case Whipple did not see fit to push Brown for the position, and Brown was not appointed.

Institute and a member of the board of the Freedmen's Savings Bank. They met also from time to time to iron out specific problems.

That Howard was sincere in his relationship with Whipple cannot be doubted. He leaned heavily upon Whipple for advice. When Whipple was seriously ill in 1871, Howard wrote, "I hear that you are sick. We feel very anxious about you. . . . We all have enjoyed your counsel so long and it has been given so freely that we hardly realize the wisdom God has vouchsafed to you until we come to the fear of losing it."¹² Later Howard spoke of Whipple as "my beau ideal of wisdom."¹³

It is not quite so certain that Whipple felt the same sincerity toward General Howard. It is true, no doubt, that Whipple looked upon Howard's appointment to the Bureau as providential—that he considered him a Christian statesman in every sense. However, it is probable that he did not agree with many of Howard's ideas, especially Howard's emphasis upon the scheme for the college in Washington, D.C. Whipple gave the General his full cooperation and much of his time in getting Howard University under way; but this may have been motivated by a desire to stay in the

¹²Howard to Whipple, June 28, 1871, Howard Papers.

¹³American Missionary, XX (December, 1876), p. 282.

good graces of the Commissioner. Whipple was hardly in a position not to cooperate with General Howard in every way that he could honestly do so. Often, Whipple's ingenuity was tried in order to wriggle out of situations in which the General's enthusiasm placed him. For example, in December of 1873 Howard wired: "Do come to Washington tonight and return Monday night—all important to me and to the University . . . answer by bearer." Whipple "was very sorry to be compelled to decline" as he did. "I had three engagements which would have been materially interfered with" by such a compliance.¹⁴

It was in the winter of 1873 and 1874, during Howard's court-martial for misappropriation of Bureau funds, that General Howard had his greatest need for sustaining friends. In this crisis George Whipple proved to be one of the most comforting of them. He wrote, "you were never in a more critical condition than now, never so much in need of a sustaining faith in God. . . . Your enemies have taken from you your defense. . . . Yet God is wiser than your enemies, he can make their wisdom foolishness, and he will do it. Let us trust him implicitly. Shall not the Judge of all the world do right!"¹⁵

¹⁴Whipple to Howard, December 1, 1873, Howard Papers.

¹⁵Whipple to Howard, December 11, 1873, Howard Papers.

This friendship between the Bureau's Howard and the Association's Whipple, intimate though it was in the early 1870's, had moments of real tension. In 1871 a misunderstanding about some property in Holly Springs, Mississippi, which the Association held but was sold by the Bureau without the knowledge of the Association, was passed over and settled on a personal basis.¹⁶ In 1875, however, just one year before Whipple's death, and two years after Howard had left Washington, a situation developed which severely threatened the cordiality between the two men. Five years earlier Howard had given \$7,500 in Bureau funds to Hampton Institute and had "advised" Hampton that these funds might be invested in another enterprise in which he was interested—stock for the building of the Y.M.C.A. in Washington, D.C. The investment proved worthless, and over the next few years became an increasingly embarrassing point to Whipple. As chairman of the board of trustees of Hampton, Whipple had the painful duty of attempting either to sell the stock or accept it as worthless. In the course of the correspondence in which Whipple attempted to seek out Howard's advice on the matter, he offended the General. Whipple attempted to understand the General's motivation when he wrote, "I have entire confidence that you thought the stock of the Y.M.C.A. Building Committee was as good as gold. . . .

¹⁶Howard to Whipple, June 29, 1871, Howard Papers.

and that by suggesting to Gen. Armstrong that he should take a part of your appropriation in such stock, you supposed that you were doing a double good." Whipple concluded, nevertheless that the General had "made a mistake." General Howard never quite forgave Whipple for this lack of confidence,¹⁷ and their friendship cooled perceptibly.

Although his relationship with George Whipple was closer than with any other person in the A.M.A., Howard had a certain intimacy with other individuals in the Association as well. He had great respect for Edward P. Smith, the Association's brilliant Field Secretary, whom he had met during the war while Smith was Field Secretary of the United States Christian Commission.¹⁸ In the fall of 1871 he wrote to Michael E. Strieby, the Junior Corresponding Secretary of the Association, that "Mrs. Howard joins me in opening our home to you and Mrs. Strieby while you are in Washington."¹⁹

Furthermore, the General showed an increasing willingness to aid the Association personally, over and beyond

¹⁷See Howard to Armstrong, June 22, 1870; Whipple to Howard, July 27, 1875; August 10, 1875; and September 21, 1875, Howard Papers.

¹⁸Smith followed Sherman's army in his capacity as General Field Agent of the U.S. Christian Commission. See Howard Papers, Important Communications #91. Smith to Howard, April 13, 1864.

¹⁹Howard to Strieby, October 30, 1871, Howard Papers.

whatever aid he might give it in his position as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. In February of 1867 Howard delivered "lectures at various points" in New York, Massachusetts and the Middle West where he embraced "the opportunity to address the people on behalf of the Freedmen."²⁰ Initially this appeal was for the general support of all the benevolent societies, but by the late spring of 1867 it became more closely identified with the American Missionary Association. In late May the General sent a letter to a meeting in Boston held by the Association which commended the A.M.A. for its "wonderful work." He could not "help thanking you for the great care you have taken in the selection of Christian teachers, and for the character of the instructions given the colored children."²¹ It was this speech which prompted the angry letter from Lyman Abbott, Secretary of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, alluded to in the preceding chapter, which raised the issue of the separation of church and state.

As long as he was Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, General Howard could not allow himself to be too closely associated with the A.M.A., although his sympathy with the Association was widely known. He did not attend

²⁰Howard to Whipple, December 7, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

²¹Letters Sent, Record II, pp. 310-312, Howard Papers.

an annual meeting of the Association until 1867, but he became such a fixture at these meetings that when he was stationed in the West in 1873 Secretary Strieby wondered how "we hold an Annual Meeting of the A.M.A. without the presence and inspiration of General Howard."²² With time this identification with the A.M.A. became more pronounced. He gave one of the leading speeches at the annual meeting of the Association in 1870,²³ and by early 1871 the General was openly proselytizing for the Association. In April he reported that he had just returned from a western trip where he "spoke in behalf of the Association, so as to quicken the interest in your work and . . . increase contributions."²⁴

The General's services did not go unrewarded. Several times the Association paid him for the expenses incurred in its behalf plus an occasional honorarium. Just before the annual meeting in the fall of 1868, Howard wrote, "You know I am very poor. Can your Society afford to pay me one hundred dollars and expenses for my trip to Springfield?"²⁵

²²Strieby to Howard, November 3, 1873, Howard Papers.

²³Strieby to Howard, October 12, 1870, Howard Papers.

²⁴Howard to Whipple, April 11, 1871, Howard Papers.

²⁵Howard to Whipple, October 5, 1868, A.M.A. Archives. At this time the Association was paying its average teacher in the field an annual salary of \$250.

Of course the Association complied with a check for one hundred and thirty dollars,²⁶ and the next spring offered to pay his expenses for a series of lectures at Hartford and Albany.²⁷ Probably there were numerous smaller contributions from individuals to Howard for his work among the Congregational churches of the North. In early 1868 the Association was pleased to send a "check for \$21.63 sent to us from Boston with the following memorandum: Reading, Mass., Bethesda Ch. S.S. for General Howard, \$10.00; Brighton, Mass., Cong. Ch. & Soc. for Gen. Howard, \$11.63."²⁸

Perhaps the non-pecuniary rewards Howard received from his Association contacts were the most satisfying to him. It was on the circuit for the "cause" and the Association that he discovered his abilities as a lecturer. During his 1871 tour of the West, for example, Howard did not confine himself to "the work of your association," but made "its grand record very prominent." In conclusion he noted that "I never had larger audiences or more earnest attention and endorsement."²⁹ In the summer of 1869 the Association began to encourage another talent of the General—that of writing. In late July the General sent to

²⁶Whipple to Howard, November 10, 1868, Howard Papers.

²⁷Whipple to Howard, April 13, 1869, Howard Papers.

²⁸Whipple to Howard, January 14, 1868, Howard Papers.

²⁹Howard to Whipple, April 11, 1871, Howard Papers.

the editor of the American Missionary "the first article I have written." It wasn't all that he wished it might be, but he gave Strieby, who was then editing the magazine, leave to change it as he wished. A fortnight later Strieby was "so pleased" with Howard's article that he asked for a "full series."³⁰

General Howard served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Association from 1871 to 1875. In the fall of 1875 he presented his resignation from the Committee because he could not attend the meetings regularly. The Committee demurred the acceptance and wrote that it was "not willing to have even a seeming severance of your connection with the Association, which has had so much pleasure in cooperating with you in a work in behalf of the colored man. . . ." The committee, recognizing the fitness of his resignation as a member of the Executive Committee which required monthly attendance at its New York meeting wrote Howard that it could find no reason for not electing him to a vice-presidency. This election was accomplished "unanimously" at the annual meeting in 1875.³¹

The contacts among Superintendent Alvord, General Howard and Secretary Whipple were by no means the only close

³⁰Strieby to Howard, August 10, 1869, Howard Papers.

³¹Whipple to Howard, October 30, 1875, Howard Papers.

ones between the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association. An index of letters sent from the Bureau to various benevolent associations from 1866 to 1868 indicated that the American Missionary Association received forty-eight percent of this correspondence.³²

Both Lieutenant Colonel George W. Balloch, Chief Disbursing Officer of the Bureau, and General Eliphalet Whittlesey, the Bureau's Adjutant General after 1866, were very interested in the A.M.A. Balloch, for example, had occasion to thank the Association in 1870 for the gift of 150 Bibles to the First Congregational Sunday School of Washington, D.C., of which he was superintendent.³³ Whittlesey was a regular contributor to the treasury of the A.M.A. as late as 1873.³⁴

The close cooperation between the Bureau and the Association extended to lower levels of administration as well. Of the assistant commissioners of the Bureau perhaps Brigadier General Clinton B. Fisk in Tennessee worked most closely with the Association. Long a supporter of the abolitionist crusade and the cause of freedmen's aid, Fisk

³² Letters Sent, 1866-1868, I- Index, Record Group 105, Records of the Education Division, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands.

³³ Balloch to George Whipple, March 18, 1870, A.M.A. Archives.

³⁴ American Missionary list of contributors—indicate gifts of \$10 each both in January of 1872 and May of 1873.

cooperated closely with the Association in establishing the school which bears his name in Nashville. General Fisk looked on the teachers of the A.M.A. as his "most efficient aides" in helping the freedmen of Tennessee.³⁵ Long afterward while serving on the Executive Committee of the A.M.A. General Fisk noted that the A.M.A. had "long been near my heart."³⁶

Colonel Orlando Brown, Assistant Commissioner in Virginia, was also quite close personally to the Association's leadership, especially to George Whipple. Much correspondence exists which indicates numerous contacts between Brown and Whipple from 1864 to 1869.³⁷ Whipple had early seen Brown as a "true friend of the colored people,"³⁸ and a certain intimacy continued between them despite Whipple's obvious friendliness with and support of Brown's subordinate, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong at Fort Monroe. Often this friendship with Armstrong meant that Whipple opposed Brown's ideas.³⁹

³⁵American Missionary, XI (July, 1867), 147.

³⁶Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1882), 406.

³⁷General correspondence in these years, A.M.A. Archives.

³⁸American Missionary, VIII (March, 1864), 61. Col. Brown was an M.D.

³⁹See Brown to Whipple, November 11, 1867; December 11, 1867; January 28, 1869, A.M.A. Archives. On June 22, 1868, Brown scribbled a note: "I expect to be in New York on Thursday or Friday this week. Shall hope to see you—will

Certain other assistant commissioners also cooperated closely with the Association. Eliphlet Whittlesey, mentioned above, was Assistant Commissioner in North Carolina until May of 1866. General Wager Swayne in Alabama was of such aid to the Association that the building he gave Talladega College through the Bureau still bears his name. The Association's school in Montgomery, too, was known as Swayne School. General Rufus Saxton was friendly to the Association during his short tenure as Assistant Commissioner in South Carolina.⁴⁰ General C. H. Smith in Arkansas and Missouri was also fully cooperative, and aided the Association in obtaining new buildings in eight different localities.⁴¹ General John R. Lewis was very helpful in Georgia. The Association's school at Macon bore his name, and his wife assisted for a time with the industrial training at Atlanta University, a school begun by the A.M.A. in 1867.⁴² In Mississippi, Assistant Commissioner

stop at the Astor House."

⁴⁰ His principal friendliness to the A.M.A. came after he was relieved of this Bureau command. For example, the American Missionary of September, 1867, noted that Saxton was "surprised and delighted" with his visit to the Association's Storrs School in Atlanta. He felt that the "safe foundation of reconstruction" was to teach "Christian duty." Mrs. Saxton, along with Mrs. John R. Lewis were serving as instructors in women's industrial education at Atlanta University, also an A.M.A. school. American Missionary, XII (November, 1868), 243.

⁴¹ 22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 70.

⁴² American Missionary, XII (November, 1868), 243.

Alvan C. Gillem proved to be a most amenable "co-laborer" in the cause of the freedmen.⁴³

Only one of the assistant commissioners met with active opposition from certain officers of the A.M.A. This was General T. J. Wood, General Gillem's predecessor in Mississippi. The Association's Western secretary, Shipherd, spoke of him as a "dirty Southerner," a "Kentuckian and an ex-slaveholder," and was fearful lest General Wood "paralyze General Howard's purpose." Another official of the Association referred to him as "a dirty piece of humanity, and . . . in a festal occasion of few days since, he was so drunk as to draw special attention. . . ."⁴⁴

Perhaps the best indication of the intimacy between the Bureau and the Association is shown in the practice of appointing a single individual to positions within each organization. Examples of interlocking personnel can be found on several levels of administration. The case of General Charles H. Howard, brother of the Commissioner, is perhaps the most obvious one. Charles Howard, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau in the District of Columbia from 1866 until January of 1869, was appointed District Secretary of the A.M.A. for its Chicago office in December of

⁴³22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 73.

⁴⁴Shipherd to Whipple, November 13, 1866; Bardwell to J. R. Shipherd, November 9, 1866. A.M.A. Archives.

1868. During the first half of 1869 he was allowed to remain with the Bureau "as Inspector of Schools with pay from the government while he was also doing service for us." It was argued that this would "enable him to render more efficient work for the freedmen and be of service to the Bureau."⁴⁵ General O. O. Howard had commented that he "could arrange to keep him on appt. as inspector" if his brother were given the Western secretaryship, a position next in authority to the two senior secretaries in New York.⁴⁶

General Samuel Chapman Armstrong's dual position as Sub-assistant Commissioner of the Bureau in southeast Virginia and as Principal of the American Missionary Association Normal School, the original name of Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute, placed him in a most important position to correlate activities of the Association and the Bureau.⁴⁷ This relationship between the A.M.A. and the Bureau in the person of General Armstrong began before the actual establishment of the normal school

⁴⁵ Whipple to Howard, May 5, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁶ Howard to Whipple, November 11, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁷ See letters of Armstrong to Whipple, 1868, A.M.A. Archives. Armstrong wrote freely on the following letter-heads: (1) Bureau of RF & AL, Headquarters, 5th Sub-district, Fortress Monroe, Va., and (2) Office of the Principal, American Missionary Association Normal School.

at Hampton. As early as 1866 General Armstrong had been given expenses by the Association to go to New Haven to speak in favor of the "Normal School interest" while the Hampton project was still in the planning stage.⁴⁸ In the fall of 1866, furthermore, George Whipple wrote General O. O. Howard in some anger after he had heard of General Armstrong's resignation from the Bureau: "Permit me to suggest that in the present condition of affairs at that point, Gen. Armstrong cannot retire from his post without very serious embarrassment of the work of education there, especially in relation to future enlarged operations in the direction of training teachers. . . . Allow me then to solicit your interference in keeping him at his present position. . . ." ⁴⁹ Four days later Superintendent Alvord wrote that "General Howard has asked for the retention of Gen. Armstrong."⁵⁰

The Rev. Edmund Asa Ware also served in simultaneous positions with the Bureau and the Association. He was Superintendent of Storrs School in Atlanta, and served a year as president of the A.M.A.'s Atlanta University while still on the Bureau payroll as Superintendent of Education

⁴⁸Armstrong to W. E. Whiting, October 30, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁹Whipple to Howard, September 20, 1866, Howard Papers.

⁵⁰Alvord to Whipple, September 24, 1866, Letters Sent, 1866-1868, I, Records of the Bureau of R., F., and A.L.

in Georgia.⁵¹ In both Arkansas and Missouri the Association's superintendent of schools served in a like capacity with the Bureau,⁵² and in Texas the Rev. George W. Honey was employed by the Association immediately after he was released from the Bureau.⁵³ J. N. Bishop moved from the superintendency of the A.M.A.'s school in Columbus, Mississippi, to the position of Assistant Secretary of Education for the Bureau in Mississippi,⁵⁴ and George L. White, the director of the famous Jubilee Singers in the 1870's, was with the Bureau in Nashville before going to the A.M.A.'s Fisk University as treasurer.⁵⁵

The connection between the Bureau and the Association was not merely personal—it was monetary as well. The pecuniary aid given the A.M.A. by the Bureau was considerable. Of the \$5,262,511.26 appropriated for education by

⁵¹Letters of Appointment, 1869-1870, Records of the Bureau of B., F., and A.L.

⁵²The Rev. J. M. Turner was an agent of the Bureau and a missionary of the A.M.A. in Missouri. Register of Letters Received, IV, Records of Bureau of B., F., and A.L.

The Rev. E. K. Miller served both agencies in Arkansas. 22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 70.

⁵³Honey to Strieby, April 4, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁴J. N. Clark to Whipple, January 18, 1870, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁵Marsh, The Story of the Jubilee Singers, p. 12, and the American Missionary, XVIII (January, 1874), 5.

the Bureau⁵⁶ probably over one million dollars went to the A.M.A. and the institutions in which it had a special interest. General Armstrong estimated that Hampton, alone, "received over \$500,000 through General Howard for buildings and improvements."⁵⁷ In direct appropriations from the Bureau the A.M.A. acknowledged the receipt of some \$135,000 between 1867 and 1871,⁵⁸ but when Secretary Whipple testified before the committee investigating General Howard's administration of the Bureau in 1870, he reported that the A.M.A. had received some \$213,000 from the Bureau.⁵⁹ The aid given the A.M.A. by the Bureau seems to have been somewhat larger than that given to other benevolent societies. For example, between October 1, 1868, and January 1, 1869, of \$30,585 appropriated to ten

⁵⁶Paul S. Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau; a Chapter in the History of Reconstruction (Iowa City, 1904), p. 82.

⁵⁷Samuel C. Armstrong, "From the Beginning," 22 Year's Work, p. 4. If the money given Howard University were included in this estimate, at least another half million dollars would have to be added.

⁵⁸The American Missionary listed the donations to the A.M.A. each month inside its front cover. A total of \$135,306.82 was reported between November, 1867, and May of 1871. These moneys, of course, are included in the annual income of the Association.

⁵⁹American Missionary, XIV (July, 1870), 155.

benevolent associations, the A.M.A. was given \$10,510.⁶⁰

Strictly speaking, the gifts of the Bureau to the various freedmen's aid societies were not direct appropriations, but were payment of rentals "at reasonable rates" on properties owned by the societies. Many buildings had been built on land owned by the various societies, thus the Bureau often paid rent for buildings it had erected itself. It was by this means that General Howard was able to give financial aid to the many freedmen's aid societies in the field despite the specific limitations included in the legislation which set up the Bureau⁶¹ forbidding grants to religious groups.

⁶⁰ General Record Book, Entry #153, Records of Bureau of R.F., and A.L.

Three Branches of the A.F.U.C. received	\$8,165.00
Delaware Association received	720.00
Freedmen's Comm., O.S. Presbyterians received	3,250.00
Committee of Gen. Ass. of N.S. Presbyterians	
received	2,480.00
Three Friends Associations received	5,450.00

⁶¹ The following is a typical list of gifts from the Bureau to the Association:

New Buildings erected in 1868:

Beach Institute, Savannah,	\$13,000	- Association paid \$3,000.
Ely Normal, Louisville	25,000	building "erected by the Government."
Avery Institute, Charleston	17,000	building built by the Bureau.
Knox School, Athens, Ga.	5,000	building built by the Bureau.

American Missionary, XII (July, 1868), 145-49.

In Virginia:

For Hampton, \$4,000 - to help guarantee a campaign to

raise \$6,000, Armstrong to Garfield, May 13, 1870, Garfield Papers.

300 for a school building, Armstrong to Samuel Hunt, May 15, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

[7] Repair of Lincoln School House, Armstrong to Whipple, August 30, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

6,500 expended by Bureau to May, 1868, for buildings. O. Brown to Whipple, Jan. 17, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

11,750 to repair Agricultural department, O. Brown to Whipple, Dec. 3, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

For Richmond, 2 hospital wards for schools, Garrick Mallery, AAA Genl., in Richmond, Va., to Whipple, Aug. 17, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

In Alabama:

Mobile, \$20,000.00 for the purchase of school property there.

16,992.79 paid for support of twenty of the Association's thirty-nine teachers in the state, Horace M. Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, a Study in Cotton and Steel (Washington, 1939), pp. 49, 83.

Montgomery, two story brick building, 22nd Annual Report (1867), p. 49.

Talladega, \$23,000 building and college property, 22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 63.

In Georgia:

Savannah, Massie School the "best school building" in the city. 19th Annual Report (1866), p. 25.
A building formerly used by the Confederate States of America, 20th Annual Report (1866), p. 30.

Atlanta, \$10,000 for Atlanta University.

In Arkansas:

New buildings at Helma, Batesville, Lewisville, Camden,

The Bureau also assumed the payment of the salaries of several members of the Association's personnel. During his first six months as Western Secretary of the A.M.A. General Charles H. Howard continued as Inspector of Schools for the Bureau and was paid by the government.⁶² In the fall of 1869 Charles Howard suggested that his brother, the Commissioner, appoint J. N. Bishop assistant superintendent of freedmen's schools in Mississippi. "He is our teacher at Columbus. . . . We pay him now . . . \$1000 per year," but

Washington, Pine Bluff, Arkadelphia and Fort Smith— and "Several other edifices are in process of construction." 22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 70.

\$5,000 building at Pine Bluff
6,000 building at Little Rock, 21st Annual Report (1867), p. 55.

In South Carolina:

\$28,000 in "projects."

In Tennessee:

\$7,000 Fisk University. Whipple to Strieby, June 8, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

In Kentucky:

Berea College, Howard Hall, a boys dorm and first real college building on Berea's campus.

The reader will note that the sources from which the above list was compiled are largely A.M.A. in origin. Apparently the Bureau did not give publicity to this kind of aid to the various benevolent societies.

⁶²C. H. Howard to Whipple, December 13, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

the new job should bring him at least \$1200 per year. He concluded that "The money cannot benefit the freedmen more" than by passing into the A.M.A. treasury.⁶³

Many "fringe benefits" were enjoyed by the Association as well as the general appropriations from the Bureau. For example, the Bureau paid the sixty dollar charter fee required by South Carolina in order to establish "Normal Schools" in the state.⁶⁴ General Armstrong in his dual capacity as Sub-assistant Commissioner for the Bureau and Principal of the Association's normal school at Hampton was in an excellent position to gain some "extras" for the Association. One time he wrote concerning a carpenter, "I'll try & get him on my rolls so his services will not cost you anything. Strictly I could only use him for Bureau work & Brown might object to his working for the A.M.A.—Still I believe he would hardly dare oppose it."⁶⁵

It was with a considerable practical interest, therefore, that the Association de-emphasized its denominational connection with the Congregationalists. There was much

⁶³C. H. Howard to E. P. Smith, November 24, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶⁴Reuben Tomlinson, Supt. of Ed. of Bureau in South Carolina to Whipple, January 15, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶⁵Armstrong to Smith, July 22, 1867, A.M.A. Archives. The Brown referred to was General Orlando Brown, Assistant Commissioner for Virginia.

pressure to be more outspokenly Congregational Church, but Whipple saw clearly the value of the government's support. "Should we sacrifice all this . . . to meet the denominational views of - anybody . . . we must move carefully and pick our men."⁶⁶

The A.M.A. was thus related very closely to the Bureau in finances, in personnel and in purpose. In fact, the Association was so connected with the "Bureau Ring" that it found itself involved in many of the Bureau's difficulties as well. The first investigation of the Bureau in 1866 cast its main charges against the Association's good friend, General Eliphalet Whittlesey.⁶⁷ In 1870 a special Congressional committee investigated charges of a scandal involving the collapse of a building at Howard University built with patented bricks made by the American Building Brick Company. Many friends of the Association were involved in this investigation, including General Howard himself, his brother, C. H. Howard, Whittlesey and Alvord.⁶⁸ The Democratic minority in its report at the end of this investigation involved the Association directly. This report, departing somewhat from the issues directly

⁶⁶Whipple to Strieby, June 8, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶⁷Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau, pp. 64-65.

⁶⁸Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau, pp. 203-205.

under investigation, charged that the Association's missionaries throughout the South were in "active cooperation with the officers and agents of the Bureau and the Freedmen's Savings Bank," and that the Association's organ, the American Missionary, was edited "in the interests of the Republican party." This minority report further claimed that General C. H. Howard, by that time Western Secretary of the A.M.A., had disbursed "the chief part" of the quarter million dollars "donated" by the Bureau. In answer to these charges the Association piously retorted that C. H. Howard had "aided this Association only in the same way that it has other organizations engaged in the work of elevating the freedmen. . . ."69

The final investigation of General Howard in 1874 was more directly concerned with his efficiency and honesty of administration. Following this trial the Association spoke disgustedly of the whole undertaking, claiming that General Howard and the Bureau had "been investigated and reinvestigated, and have been vindicated and re-vindicated, so thoroughly that their worst foes, out of self-respect, ought to cease their persecution."70

The Association also was involved in the great fiscal

⁶⁹American Missionary, XIV (October, 1870), 228.

⁷⁰Ibid., XVIII (July, 1874), 157.

fiasco of the National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, the failure of which took perhaps fifty-six million dollars in Negro savings with it into bankruptcy.⁷¹ Actually, the connection of the Association personnel to this Freedmen's Savings Bank was uncomfortably close.

When it was founded it was hoped that the Freedmen's Savings Bank would provide a means to encourage the thrift of the Negro, to help him provide for a secure economic base from which to build a new life under freedom. The A.M.A. early appreciated the importance of helping the Negro secure a strong financial position, and, when the Bank was incorporated in the winter of 1865 with John W. Alvord as president, George Whipple, Senior Secretary of the A.M.A. and longtime friend of Alvord, was a trustee.⁷² Three of the A.M.A.'s Executive Committee were also trustees on the Board of Incorporation of the Bank—A. S. Barnes, Samuel Holmes and R. R. Graves.⁷³ A Mr. Ketchum of New York, probably Edgar Ketchum, Treasurer of the A.M.A., was one of the most effective of the trustees in the late 1860's.⁷⁴

⁷¹Ibid., XL (April, 1886), 101.

⁷²Ibid., XIII (November, 1869), 243.

⁷³Mr. Barnes was not on the A.M.A. Executive Committee until 1869.

⁷⁴See Walter L. Fleming, The Freedmen's Savings Bank; a Chapter in the Economic History of the Negro Race (Chapel Hill, 1927), pp. 41, 69.

The Association's relationships with the Bank extended down to the local level as well. Henry C. Percy, A.M.A. Superintendent of schools in Norfolk, was the cashier of the branch of the Bank in that city. William L. Coan, an A.M.A. missionary in Virginia from 1862 to 1864, was cashier of the Jacksonville, Florida, branch. The Rev. S. S. Ashley, Association superintendent of schools at Wilmington, N. C., served for a time as cashier of that branch.⁷⁵ John J. Carey, cashier of the Nashville branch, was a trustee of Fisk University,⁷⁶ and the Rev. E. O. Tade, minister of the Congregational Church and supported by the A.M.A. in Chattanooga, was cashier of the Bank branch in that city.⁷⁷ Of these cashiers Coan and Carey seem to have been of questionable character. The historian of the Freedmen's Bank indicates that "Coon" of the Jacksonville branch misappropriated over ten thousand dollars, and Carey's branch was short one thousand

⁷⁵ Alvord to Whipple, June 15, 1867; Percy to Strieby, December 10, 1866. Coan to Smith, December 30, 1869 and January 18, 1870; Alvord to Whipple, June 17, 1867 (found in January file in summer of 1955), A.M.A. Archives.

⁷⁶ American Missionary, XXXII (August, 1879), 232.

⁷⁷ Ibid., XIII (October, 1869); and A.M.A. Archives, Tade to Pike, February, 1871, several letters on Freedmen's Bank letterhead.

dollars.⁷⁸

The Association, furthermore, used the Freedmen's Bank to handle its own fiscal affairs. Besides the above branches, records exist indicating frequent financial relations with branches in Memphis, Savannah and Atlanta.⁷⁹ Thus, there seems to be considerable evidence supporting Fleming's contention that, while the benevolent societies may have been careful about the impeccable temperance sentiment of their missionaries and representatives sent

⁷⁸Fleming, The Freedmen's Savings Bank, p. 66.

In 1862 Coan had travelled through New England and Ohio with the ex-slave, William Davis, in the interests of the Association, and had gone then to the Ft. Monroe Area as a missionary of the A.M.A. Before the war Coan had been associated in business with C. B. Wilder, and these two worked rather closely together afterward. While Coan was with the A.M.A. in Virginia in 1863, Wilder was made a Superintendent of Freedmen by Benjamin Butler. From 1861 to 1864 Wilder served on the Executive Committee of the A.M.A. Despite the fact that in the summer of 1865 Wilder was accused of malfeasance by General Ord, Wilder was absorbed into the work of the Freedmen's Bureau the following fall.

See the American Missionary, VI (July, 1862), 147, 154; VIII (January, 1864), 12; IX (August, 1865), 183. James Marshall to Captain Wilder, September 28, 1865, A.M.A. Archives.

By 1870 Coan and Wilder were back together again, this time in Jacksonville, Florida, Coan as "cashier of the Freedmen's Bank, which is the bank of Jacksonville," and Wilder as a developer, "active in promoting the growth of this flourishing town." American Missionary, IV (February, 1870), 38.

⁷⁹Certain cashiers were related closely to A.M.A. enterprises, although they did not come from the Association's employ. For example, see N. D. Smith to Cravath, October 25, 1873, October 31, 1873 and December 22, 1873; J. W. Brinkerhoff to Cravath, October 17, 1873 and December 3, 1873; Philip D. Cory to Cravath, January 16, 1876, A.M.A. Archives. Fleming notes that Cory, the cashier of the

into the Freedmen's Bank,⁸⁰ they allowed cashiers to be appointed and practices to be followed which were detrimental to the safety of the savings of the freedmen. This, however, was probably due to an ignorance of proper banking policies rather than any pecuniary motives.

Further evidence of the intimacy between the Bureau and the A.M.A. is offered by a statement of George Whipple to Howard in the spring of 1866. "The success of our work depends under God much on the success of yours." Therefore, he continued, the Bureau and the Association must set up a system of exchange of information. "If you know of a bad man in our employ . . . I w[ou]l[d] have you inform me" even as Whipple was then informing General Howard of certain individuals within the Bureau who were trying to undermine their mutual friend, Samuel Chapman Armstrong.⁸¹ A great deal of such information was

Atlanta branch of the Freedmen's Bank, was short \$8,000.

⁸⁰The Association was responsible for the dismissal of at least two of the cashiers of the branch banks. Mr. Newton Torutellot was removed from the Norfolk Branch for drunkenness on the testimony of an A.M.A. missionary, and R. B. Hunt lost his position with the Wilmington branch because of "social attentions to young ladies." R. B. Hunt to Whipple, January 4, 1869; Alverd to Whipple, August 13, 1865; H. C. Percy to Whipple, June 2, 1867; D. L. Eaton to Whipple, July 30, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁸¹Whipple to Howard, May 21, 1866, Howard Papers.

exchanged between the Bureau and the Association; there was enough in fact to support a contention that the Association's missionaries were in a sense the eyes and ears of General Howard keeping him informed concerning the actions of his local agents. Correspondence of this nature was regular and frequent—six letters were exchanged between the Association and the Bureau in the month of July, 1869.⁸² The Bureau depended heavily upon the field reports of the Association's officers, especially the monthly communications of Edward P. Smith, Field Secretary of the Association. Some information came to the Bureau from the various state superintendents of education employed by the Bureau. Other information came from agents of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society and other benevolent associations. But none of these officials wrote to the Bureau as often as did the officers of the A.M.A.⁸³

There were other methods, too, of bringing certain local conditions to the attention of the Commissioner. Some of this information was exchanged personally between Secretary Whipple, General Howard and Superintendent Alvord.

⁸²Register of Letters Received, IV, Entry #155, Records of the Bureau of R., F., and A.L.

⁸³Letters Recorded. Register, 1866-1870, Entry #155, Records of the Bureau of R., F., and A.L.

Another avenue of exchange was indicated by the Adjutant General in Virginia when he noted, "I am directed by the Asst. Com. to enclose herewith an extract from the 'American Missionary' . . . and instruct you" to investigate and report on the burning of colored school houses "therein named."⁸⁴

Occasionally the Bureau recommended a change in Association personnel. In the spring of 1868, for example, Alvord wrote his friend Whipple, "at General Howard's request, to say that some complaint has been made of your superintendent of schools in Savannah . . . that he requires too much labor from his teachers. . . . It is sufficient merely to call your attention to this subject."⁸⁵ Earlier in the same month Alvord had suggested to the Association that "Dr. Boynton should not be reelected" as a Vice-President of the A.M.A. At the time Dr. Boynton was feuding industriously with Commissioner Howard on the question of racial amalgamation and the possession of the First Congregational Church building in Washington, D.C., and it was thought best that the Association back Howard officially in this time of trial. Dr. Boynton, of course,

⁸⁴Garrick Mallery, Capt., AAA Gen. Bureau, Richmond, Virginia, to Capt. Major J. H. Remington, Sub. A. Court. 29 April, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

⁸⁵Alvord to Whipple, May 23, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

was not reelected.⁸⁶

The influence of the A.M.A. upon the Bureau did not stop with the exchange of information concerning personnel. In a very practical way many of the suggestions made by the officers of the Association were acted upon by the Bureau in determining basic policy. A detailed and inclusive letter from George Whipple to General Howard written in July of 1866, soon after the Bureau had been given a degree of permanence with Congress' first appropriation to it, indicates this influence of the Association on the Bureau. Whipple rejoiced at the "renewal" of the Bureau, for it will "give it the power, as it has the will, to cooperate with Benevolent Associations in the work of educating the Freedmen." He then inquired "whether aid cannot be extended to this and other associations in this work for the Freedmen."

Whipple proposed certain specific ways by which the Bureau could aid the freedmen's aid societies already on the ground. The Bureau could provide "for school houses . . . Orphan Asylums . . . quarters for teachers." When no suitable buildings were available he suggested that the Bureau should share in the erection of these buildings by paying "at least one half the cash expenditure for the

⁸⁶Alvord to Whipple, May 5, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

same, or, by paying in advance the market rental of such a building for two years." Whipple also suggested that transportation might be provided for "duly accredited teachers to and from their fields of labor," and that facilities be allowed for "goods sent for gratuitous distribution" such as "books and school supplies."⁸⁷ Actually, these policies were remarkably close to the final "rental" and transportation policies adopted by the Bureau.

For four years the Bureau and the Association worked together closely in the establishment of Hampton Normal

⁸⁷Whipple to Howard, July 26, 1866, Howard Papers. Whipple further suggested that rations be allowed for "all colored orphans gathered in Orphan Asylums; for the Superintendent, Matron and teachers. . . ." Concerning transportation, Secretary Whipple even furnished a specific formula for determining benefits. He advised the Bureau to "furnish transportation on the application of the properly accredited officers of any association that sent last year, and expects to send this, not less than thirty teachers." If a smaller organization desired to send teachers South, it "must make application through such one of the larger organizations as they may elect." As to means of ordering transportation, the foresighted Mr. Whipple wrote, "To save trouble to you and the societies," such transportation should "be ordered from Washington to be furnished by the Quartermaster here [New York] or at Chicago or Cincinnati to a specified number of teachers named in the application appointed by (name of) Society, both Quartermaster and the Society to report at once to Washington the names of parties who use the transportation." He even found means of saving the government some money. "In case Rail-Roads or Steamboat Cos. demand of the Gov't full price for the transportation of teachers, could not the Associations be left to make their own arrangements, and have aid furnished at so much per mile, not to exceed the sum actually paid. . . ."

and Agricultural Institute. At Fisk and Atlanta Universities, too, they cooperated closely during the life of the Bureau.⁸⁸ Although the Bureau took the lead in the planning for Howard University, it eagerly sought the counsel and advice of the officers of the Association. On one occasion Whipple was asked to "think out . . . just what such an institution should be, and just how it should start. Some endowment must be had . . . besides some special fund, as we talked of at Hampton, for beneficiary purposes. Shall it be manual labor? is another question."⁸⁹

The Bureau confronted a tremendous problem in furnishing the freedmen with the needed help, materially and educationally, to meet the opportunities given them by emancipation. General Howard and his associates in the Bureau quite naturally turned for aid to the American Missionary Association headed by one of Alvord's seminary

⁸⁸Of the seven schools John H. Franklin, Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1908), p. 304, lists as "among the schools founded by the Freedmen's Bureau," three are A.M.A. schools and two others had A.M.A. affiliation.

Howard University - A.M.A. supported the theological department.

Hampton Institute

St. Augustine's College - Episcopalian

Atlanta University

Fisk University

Storer College - Free Will Baptist, during these years cooperating with the A.M.A.

Biddle Memorial Institute - Presbyterian

⁸⁹Letter to Whipple, January 3, 1867, Records of the Bureau of R., F., and A.L.

mates, George Whipple. Howard, too, was eager to cooperate with the society which his church had officially endorsed in 1865. By not seeking favors for his society alone and playing down the denominational aspect of the Congregational connection with the Association, Whipple was able to gain tremendous financial support for the Association and its institutions, and to gain the abiding confidence of the leaders of the Bureau. Indeed, the personnel of the Bureau and of the Association at times are hard to separate. In that empire of four million souls governed by the puritan magistrate, Oliver Otis Howard, it was natural that puritan ministers such as Whipple and Alvord should share in its rule, even as in colonial Massachusetts.

CHAPTER III

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

The American Missionary Association was organized in 1846 and incorporated under the laws of the State of New York a year later. Its membership was open to all evangelical abolitionists; its object was the spread of the knowledge of the Bible to "this and other" lands through Christian missions and educational facilities. According to the Association's original constitution of 1846 the president and the various vice-presidents, largely honorary positions, had no specific duties other than presiding at the annual meetings which generally occurred in late October. These meetings were actually the governing body of the Association. Its executive committee met monthly in New York City to guide the officers of the Association in the details of administration such as the allocation of funds and hiring of personnel for the field. This committee numbered about twenty and was made up largely of persons from New York City or vicinity. During the early years it was generally dominated by the professional staff of the Association who served as ex-officio members of the committee.

In time the constitution prepared during the days of slavery was revised. Certain minor amendments were occasionally added,¹ but the only major constitutional change occurred in 1883.² Basic changes were adopted then in the requirements for membership and in the relationship of cooperating churches and denominations to the Association.³ The major structural change was the creation of a board of directors which became the new governing body in place of the old executive committee. The members of this board were elected for three-year terms set up on a rotating basis so that only one third of them were subject to the approval of each annual meeting. This was in contrast with

¹In 1869 Article II on the purpose of the Association was changed appreciably. Its chief effect was to change terminology which applied only to a situation in which slavery was a recognized institution. American Missionary, XIII (October, 1869), 216, 226.

²At the annual meeting of 1882 a committee of thirteen was appointed consisting of Col. Charles G. Hammond, Hon. William B. Washburn, President E. H. Fairchild and others.

³The membership changes were: individual members had no longer to hold evangelistic abolitionist sentiments, but had only to pay \$50 life membership fee rather than the thirty dollars required before. Institutions were given more official status under this new revision when they were given specific representation at the annual meeting, and provided for in the Constitution.

The Changes in the statement of objectives merely deleted the phrases referring in any way to slavery and the necessity of abolitionist sentiments for all connected with the Association. This change was made thirty years after emancipation.

the membership of the old executive committee which had been selected for one year terms only. Furthermore under the new arrangement the directors set basic policies, and the secretaries of the Association were merely its agents.⁴ Thus, with this Constitution of 1883 the days of personal leadership of the Association came to an end. In the early years, however, the direction of the society was pretty largely entrusted to individual officers.

Lewis Tappan was, beyond a doubt, the most important officer of the Association from the time of its founding in 1846 until his retirement as Treasurer in 1866. For nearly two decades before the formation of the A.M.A. Mr. Tappan had been prominently associated with his brother, Arthur, in both business and philanthropic enterprises. Although the panic of 1837 discouraged Arthur Tappan from further important business or philanthropic ventures, Lewis Tappan was quite active after this time. He formed a credit rating business which is a direct ancestor of the present firm of Dunn and Bradstreet. In the 1840's he retired from business to give all his time to the benevolent enterprises in which he believed. Of the many benevolent activities which claimed Mr. Tappan's time, he is probably best remembered for his pioneer work in the free

⁴American Missionary, XXXVI (November, 1882), 349-50.

church movement, his long friendship with and patronage of the great revivalist, Charles G. Finney, and his long and generous support of the temperance and anti-slavery causes. However, as one author notes, "The American Missionary Association represented the culmination of Lewis Tappan's struggle to ally religious organizations with the anti-slavery cause," and was closest to his heart in his later years.⁵

During Mr. Tappan's twenty years as Treasurer, both corresponding secretaries, George Whipple and S. S. Jocelyn, acceded to his wishes. For example, Tappan wrote Whipple in 1864 that he was extremely sorry not to have talked with Whipple before he had left on a trip concerning the "conduct of affairs" during Whipple's absence for he was much displeased with the "loose" way Whipple had left his work.⁶ A year later Tappan could not be present at an executive committee meeting, so he left specific instructions for Whipple to secure decisions from the executive committee on four separate problems, one of which was the salaries of the secretaries.⁷ On another occasion Jocelyn wrote Tappan

⁵Phyllis Mary Bannan, Arthur and Lewis Tappan; a Study in New York Religious and Reform Movements (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1950), pp. 172-73.

⁶Tappan to Whipple, July 6, 1864, Tappan Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷Tappan to Whipple, January 25, 1865, Tappan Papers.

that Whipple would write a brief editorial having "thoughts . . . essentially after your plan" to be prepared for the American Missionary.⁸ Furthermore, Tappan seems to have had general authority over the selection of new personnel. When Michael E. Strieby was employed as Corresponding Secretary succeeding Jocelyn in 1864, a letter from Tappan completed the negotiations.⁹ This is not to say that Lewis Tappan was dictatorial or arbitrary. Rather it was his efficient and exacting example that set the tone for the central office. He noted at one time that although his relations with Whipple and Jocelyn were agreeable in most respects, as a business man he desired "more promptness and thoroughness" than he was able to obtain.¹⁰

It was fortunate that the administrative officers of the Association got along so well, for they were called upon to face many thorny problems during the last years of Mr. Tappan's tenure. As the war progressed it became necessary for the Association to shift its emphasis greatly. A society which before the war had been a small "conscience" society dedicated to anti-slaveryism with missions spread around the world, became by 1865 a society which marshalled

⁸Jocelyn to Tappan, May 13, 1864, A.M.A. Archives.

⁹Tappan to Strieby, January 14, 1864, Tappan Papers.

¹⁰Tappan to Strieby, January 14, 1864, Tappan Papers.

the funds of an ever increasing constituency for the benefit of one cause—freedmen's aid.

As indicated earlier, the Association began its work among the freedmen of the South in September of 1861. By the time of emancipation this work had spread to such an extent that a drastic change in the total program of the Association was required. The Association's efforts were increasingly turned toward aiding the freedmen as its single "providential mission," while the missions in the Old Northwest and those among the fugitive ex-slaves in Canada were completely abandoned.¹¹ The A.M.A.'s original missions in Africa might have been abandoned at this time as well had not so many of the endowment funds then held been designated for the support of African missions.¹²

¹¹The missions among the Indians carried on in the Northwest had been given up some years before the war. American Missionary Association, History of Forty Years of Missionary Labor, 1846-1886 (New York, 1886), p. 5.

Home missions in the Northwest had been given up by the summer of 1863 save for a few in the border slave states and in Kansas. The emphasis of the Association was shifting already to its missions among the freedmen in Virginia and South Carolina. This was especially apparent in the Hampton area where the good friends of the Association, Captain Wilder and Dr. Orlando Brown were administering schools under appointment of General Benjamin Butler. American Missionary, VII (July, 1863), 147-49.

¹²Lewis Tappan to Arthur Tappan, October 16, 1863, Tappan Papers. The principal funds involved were those given by the Rev. Charles Avery, a Wesleyan Methodist minister in Pittsburgh who left the Association over \$100,000, the income of which was to be used for the evangelization of the Negro in Africa.

The work among the freedmen spread rapidly. In 1863 eighty-three missionaries and teachers labored for the Association among the ex-slaves, and in 1864, 250.¹³ But the most significant expansion of the Association's work with the freedmen came later in the decade, and in 1865 the Association received such substantial support that it was able to double its growing activities in the South. The aid of the Freedmen's Bureau, begun in 1865, became quite substantial by 1868. The most important financial support of the A.M.A. came as a result of the National Council of Congregational Churches meeting in Boston in June, 1865, which recommended to its churches that \$250,000 be raised for the benefit of the A.M.A. Furthermore the transitory appeal for freedmen's relief was generally abandoned at this time in favor of an emphasis upon education as a more lasting and effective method of permanently elevating the Negro. This new emphasis upon the "Christian function" in education was promoted actively by the "church-related" A.M.A. in its new and growing appeal to "Christian benevolence."¹⁴

¹³American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association; Its Churches and Educational Institutions among the Freedmen, Indians and Chinese with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1874).

¹⁴American Missionary, IX (August, 1865), p. 178; (September, 1865), 202-203. See Chapter I.

To raise the sum of one quarter of a million dollars recommended by the National Council, and to meet the challenge of other organizations also in quest of their share of the funds of Northern benevolence, a reorganization of the Association's administrative machinery was necessary. A staff of two corresponding secretaries and a treasurer in New York with some five to eight collecting agents throughout the North, no matter how devoted and efficient, was hardly an organization to meet such a challenge. To meet this need a district secretary scheme was devised. The idea was simple: to divide the North into several areas and place a district secretary over the collection of funds in each area. In some cases these district secretaries had supervision of specific fields in the South as well as its collection fields in the North.

Rev. J. J. Marks, formerly with the American Tract Society in its work with the Union Army, was the first one of these district secretaries secured. It was expected that he would make Washington, D.C., his headquarters, but "ill health of a member of his family" prevented him from carrying out this plan. By February, 1866, however, a total program had been worked out and the secretaries secured to administer three districts inconvenient to direct from New York. These new offices were set up at Boston, Cincinnati and Chicago.

The Boston office was an outgrowth of a successful collection agency that had operated in Massachusetts and northern New England for many years. The Rev. C. L. Woodworth took charge of the office in 1866 and administered it until 1885. He confined his activities to collections and never had any Southern field to supervise. On the other hand both the Cincinnati and Chicago offices took on the job of administering specific fields of work in the South as well as the solicitation of funds within their designated areas in the North. The New York office continued to solicit funds from Connecticut, New York and the Middle States, to supervise the field work of the Association in the Atlantic Coast States of the South, and furnish a general administrative oversight to the total work of the Association.¹⁵

Both the Chicago and the Cincinnati district offices were, in part, the products of the mergers with existing freedmen's aid societies. Soon after the district office of the A.M.A. was established in Cincinnati, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission of that city merged its activities with those of the Association. The personnel of the district office of the Association and of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission was identical, but in the bookkeeping

¹⁵Ibid., X (February, 1866), 34.

of receipts and activities a separation continued for some years.¹⁶ Rev. Edward P. Smith, lately with the United States Christian Commission, took over the Cincinnati office in February of 1866, but by mid-year he was called to New York to become Field Secretary of the A.M.A. The Rev. E.M. Cravath succeeded Smith at Cincinnati and provided excellent leadership in the collection of funds from Ohio, and parts of Michigan, Indiana and Pennsylvania, and in the direction of activities on the southern field consisting of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Georgia and most of Alabama.¹⁷

The district office in Chicago grew in importance gradually. When it was begun in February, 1866, Rev. William DeLoss Love, a Congregational minister in Milwaukee, was placed in charge, but no appreciable growth in receipts or activity resulted during his six month's tenure. To replace him the Association acquired the services of the General Secretary of the Northwest Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Rev. Jacob R. Shipherd. Although this Northwest Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Chicago branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, held to a separate existence for two more years before merging with the

¹⁶This ended about 1869.

¹⁷American Missionary, X (February, 1866), 34.

A.M.A., the Association was able to gain, due partly to the Shipherd appointment, the support of many individuals and churches who formerly had supported the Commission. Because of this background the Chicago district office also administered a large field of its own in the South consisting of the southern Mississippi Valley and Texas.¹⁸

Probably Lewis Tappan was more responsible than any other official in the central office for instigating the system of district secretaries. The administration of the scheme, however, was turned over to other hands as Tappan resigned as treasurer effective January 1, 1866. This change of leadership precipitated several crises at a very critical time.

Since the constitutional set up of the Association at that time threw the responsibility of making major decisions upon the professional staff of the Association,¹⁹ it was necessary that one of them take charge when Tappan stepped aside. George Whipple was the only officer in any way prepared to take command. Michael E. Strieby had been

¹⁸Augustus F. Beard, Crusade of Brotherhood (Boston, 1909), pp. 134, 171.

¹⁹Before the actual retirement of Mr. Tappan as treasurer, William E. Whiting, long on the executive committee, had been brought to "the Rooms" as assistant treasurer. He continued in this position, largely a bookkeeping one, during most of the tenure of Edgar Ketchum as treasurer. Ketchum was more an "honorary" treasurer than a working treasurer.

called from a pastorate in Syracuse, New York, to become a corresponding secretary of the Association less than two years prior to Tappan's retirement. Edgar Ketchum, the new treasurer, was a prominent lawyer in New York City who also served as Collector of Internal Revenue for the 9th District of New York from 1861 to 1867, and then as Registrar of Bankruptcy in the city of New York. Long associated with the anti-slavery cause and a great admirer of Lewis Tappan, Ketchum served as the Association's treasurer from 1865 until 1879, providing the A.M.A. with invaluable legal advice.²⁰ Because of Treasurer Ketchum's wide interests, the mundane job of keeping the Association's books was left to an assistant treasurer, William E. Whiting. A great-grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Whiting was one of the original officers of the A.M.A. when it was founded in 1846 when he was made a member of the executive committee. However, he did not come into the central offices until 1865 when it was apparent that Tappan was retiring.²¹ Thus, much of the future usefulness of the Association depended upon how Secretary Whipple met the new responsibilities thrust upon him by Tappan's resignation.

At first it seemed that the kindly, well-meaning,

²⁰Ibid., XXXVI (April, 1862), 100.

²¹Ibid., XVII (April, 1873), 92; XXXVI (July, 1882), 194.

judicious Whipple²² would be no match for the practical problems of principal responsibility. After the firm hand of Lewis Tappan was removed, troubles began to pile up and by 1866 complaints were legion. One missionary wrote from the field that there was an "almost universal feeling . . . that somebody at your office moves slow, slow, slow!"²³ This slow person may have been Rev. Samuel Hunt, Superintendent of Education for the Association's fast growing work among the freedmen since 1864. Hunt was a kindly man more prone to large schemes than the mundane affairs of specific administration. His letters during this time to Whipple are full of grandiose and fatherly advice—and rather good advice too.²⁴ Hunt was more realistic than either Whipple or Strieby, and he furnished the hard business advice which had been sorely lacking after Tappan left. But during the year, 1866, he became a scape-goat for many of the Association's difficulties while George Whipple was learning the lessons of leadership.

Perhaps Hunt's advice to the secretaries would not have been so galling had not real difficulties already developed

²²See pages 40-41 above.

²³William L. Coan to Strieby, January 1, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

²⁴See Hunt to Whipple, May 17, 1866; May 24, 1866; May 25, 1866 and August 3, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

by the early summer of 1866. By that time there were at least three serious problems that troubled the secretaries. The first was the financial burden of a greatly expanded field staff numbering about five hundred that had to be kept in the South. The second problem was in Memphis where race riots had resulted in the destruction of the Association's school and church properties and a jurisdictional struggle between the Cincinnati and the Chicago district offices hampered rebuilding. The third problem was a personal one involving the Association's secretary in Chicago, Jacob R. Shipherd.²⁵ No doubt the secretaries felt that Shipherd was quite a "catch" when they employed him. Since he had been secretary of the Chicago branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, in one respect the move to employ him was well calculated. But during Shipherd's entire tenure in the Chicago office he was a constant irritation to both Whipple and Strieby.

These difficulties served only to make the secretaries sensitive to Hunt's realistic advice. Strieby had evidently developed a definite conviction by mid-summer, 1866, that Hunt was extremely inefficient and was working for his removal. About this time, too, both secretaries decided that the Association needed a field secretary to direct the

²⁵General letters, late spring and early summer, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

work among the freedmen. Edward P. Smith, then district secretary in Cincinnati, was their rather natural choice because of his previous experience as field agent for the United States Christian Commission during the war. Strieby, especially, was quite impressed with Smith's abilities, and labored with some diligence to have Smith given direction of the entire field.²⁶ Hunt was told that Smith had been employed as field secretary on June 30 and thereafter he grew more and more fearful of his job, blaming Strieby and Smith for his difficulties, until the tensions in the New York Office were quite unbearable.²⁷ Hunt finally resigned on January 1, 1867, complaining that Smith had made things very difficult for him, not even "enquiring concerning what I have done"²⁸ and full of bitterness toward Strieby, and greatly disappointed in Whipple.

Probably Sam Hunt needed to be replaced, but one cannot avoid the conclusion that unnecessary tension was allowed to develop because of the lack of a firm hand at the right time. Hunt could have been corrected, or use

²⁶L. S. Hobart to Strieby, no date, and enclosed letter from Mary B. Kinsley, September 29, 1866, A.M.A. Archives. This letter sent by Miss Kinsley complained of Mr. Hunt's dilatoriness—of letters being unanswered for months which necessitated long waits on the part of prospective teachers.

²⁷Hunt to Whipple, July 2, 1866, letter marked "Strictly Confidential," A.M.A. Archives.

²⁸Hunt to Strieby, December 7, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

made of his devotion, originality and energy in another area,²⁹ for he had gifts badly needed by the Association at this time. Whipple's "kindly tears" were no match for the needed firmness of decision. Furthermore, when the harsh treatment given Sam Hunt is compared to the indulgent way the secretaries met the very real difficulties presented them by the Western Secretary, Jacob B. Shipherd, the mistakes are pointed up sharply.

Jacob Shipherd was an able man and formidable in argument with both pen and tongue—more formidable than the mild Whipple or the uncertain Strieby. But he was a vain man and proud of his own considerable abilities. The conditions under which he came to the Association should have warned the Secretaries of the troubles approaching, for he would accept direction of the Chicago office only if his full equality with the two New York secretaries was

²⁹Hunt in 1867 experimented with what he called a "Parapetitic Agency" on Long Island. This scheme included a program for gaining key lay and ministerial support in a given area following an intensive campaign of education on the activities of the Association. Once support was assured in this "parapet," the agent could move on to another area and conduct another such agency. The similarity to the methods used by Finney and Weld in their revivals is apparent, and the eventual methods used by the Association are not unlike this. Hunt had an original mind, though often not too profound. He claimed paternity to the Normal School idea for Hampton as well. Hunt felt that the key to good normal training was the Christian home, thus a model boarding school was central in his plan. See Hunt's long letter to Strieby, January 13, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

recognized. His position was not that of a district secretary, but "the Western Secretary." The stream of Shipherd's letters to New York is full of insistence upon protocol. Shipherd's treasurer, Mr. Sabin, was made co-equal with W. E. Whiting, the Assistant Treasurer in New York who directed most of the financial affairs of the entire Association.³⁰ The letters Shipherd sent to New York are filled with statistics to show why he ought to have more money from the common treasury in order to develop the large Southern field under his administration. During this time Cravath in Cincinnati, a mere district secretary, was collecting in funds nearly as much as Shipherd and was doing a superb job establishing schools in his field area in the South. While Cravath was helping to establish Fisk, Atlanta, Talladega, LeMoyne and a host of other schools with the full cooperation of the Freedmen's Bureau, Shipherd was nourishing only one college, Straight in New Orleans, was helping Emerson Institute get off to a bad start in Mobile by brow-beating the Bureau for a few extra dollars, and was feuding so royally with the Bureau and his local superintendent in Texas that the work of the

³⁰ Shipherd to Whipple, December 23, 1866; July 13, 20, 1867; October 8, 1866; August 12, 1867; November 1, 7, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

Association there was delayed for at least two years.³¹

After two years made uncomfortable by difficulties and complaints Shipherd was finally forced to resign. Even General Howard received so much criticism from his assistant commissioners in Texas and Alabama that he expressed his "dissatisfaction" with Shipherd.³² A prominent Congregational minister in Illinois noted his disgust at Shipherd's pride in his sharp business practices. The fact that he ran a news bureau, an advertising bureau and was a correspondent for several papers also raised wide

³¹Shipherd to Whipple, January 18, 1868, A.M.A. Archives. Shipherd bragged about his triumph over General Swayne on the property at Mobile, and of how much he had saved the Association. Shipherd had been allowed to go into Alabama, part of Cravath's district, because Ralph Emerson of Rockford, Illinois, wanted to give a school to the A.M.A. New Orleans did not work out, so Mobile was decided upon as the location for Emerson Institute. Swayne got such a bad taste of Shipherd in his dealings with him here that he would deal only with Cravath thereafter.

On the Texas story, see Shipherd to Strieby, September 3, 1867, and various letters from William Honey to Strieby, October 30, 1866; April 4, 1867; January 27, 1867; February 15, 1867 and May 6, 1867, A.M.A. Archives. Honey had been with the Bureau and had cooperated so well with the Association that Strieby went far out of his way to induce Honey into the employ of the Association after he was mustered out of the Army. No sooner had he gotten on the field than General Kiddoo, Assistant Commissioner of Texas for the Bureau, made a complaint about Honey to Shipherd, and Shipherd impulsively fired Honey. General Griffin soon replaced Kiddoo, thus removing any advantage whatsoever for Honey's removal. The upshot was the loss of Honey's services, though as late as May Honey expressed a willingness to return as superintendent in Texas.

³²Howard to Whipple, August 20, 1867, Shipherd to Whipple, July 16, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

suspicious in church circles.³³

Difficulties inside the Association itself finally led to Shipherd's actual removal. During almost the whole of Shipherd's tenure there was jurisdictional bickering between the Chicago and Cincinnati districts. At Memphis and Mobile tensions developed over conflicts of field administration and Michigan was fought over as a collection field. A compromise was finally reached which gave Memphis to Cincinnati, Mobile to Chicago, and divided Michigan on a line running north from the western boundary of Ohio.³⁴ A climax to these jurisdictional differences developed over the administration of the Adrian Orphan Asylum in Michigan.

This asylum had been established in early 1867 for the benefit of destitute Negro children sent north by Association missionaries, and about seventy children were placed in foster homes in the North as a result of the work of this asylum. Shipherd took over the general supervision of this institution and placed a matron "with whose particular methods I had become intimately acquainted" in charge of it.³⁵ In the early months of 1868 the asylum was closed.

³³Flavel Bascom to Whipple, September 29, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

³⁴Shipherd to Strieby, October 15, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

³⁵Shipherd to Whipple, December 7, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

and eight orphans who had been sent to Adrian from Atlanta, a post under the jurisdiction of Cincinnati, were sent to District Secretary Cravath in Cincinnati. Shipherd accused Cravath of sending more orphans to the Adrian asylum from his district than had been authorized. Since Shipherd could not conveniently "dispose" of the extra children, he sent them back to Cravath. This action goaded Cravath into a formal protest against Shipherd to the New York Secretaries.³⁶ Whipple was able to smooth over this incident with a compromise that saved Shipherd but placed the blame on the matron of the Atlanta asylum.³⁷ A petty charge from an obscure missionary in Kansas which was carried over Shipherd's head to the Executive Committee finally rid the Association of the services of Jacob R. Shipherd.

As early as the fall of 1867 some missionaries in Kansas had brought charges of maladministration against Shipherd.³⁸ In the following spring the Association's

³⁶Shipherd to Strieby, August 12, 1868, A.M.A. Archives, has the whole history of the Adrian incident in it.

³⁷Whipple to Shipherd, August 28, 1868, A.M.A. Archives. The Association conducted three Asylums—one in Wilmington, one in Atlanta, and this one at Adrian, Michigan, which was operated for about a year.

³⁸This charge was made by the Rev. J. Copeland, and accused Shipherd of a lack of energy in raising funds to match Bureau appropriations to maintain the Association's work in Kansas City. Copeland protested to New York over Shipherd's head. Copeland to Shipherd, November 19, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

missionary in Topeka, Platt, brought charges of actual misappropriation of funds. It seems that the Freedmen's Bureau appropriated \$471 for the Association's work among the freedmen in Topeka, but his mission received only two hundred dollars. The remaining \$271 was diverted to Mr. Shipherd's pet project, the Emerson Institute in Mobile, Alabama. Shipherd admitted that this was the case after Platt had secured vouchers proving its validity, but commented, "Certainly you cannot expect me to plead seriously to the charges of fraud which he files."³⁹ Nevertheless, it was this incident which led to Shipherd's resignation in October. He left full of bitter recrimination, feeling that he had been ill used and "picked on."⁴⁰ Had Secretary Whipple dealt strongly with Shipherd at an earlier time rather than placidly trying to keep the peace through compromise, much bitterness could have been avoided and the labors of the Association in the Southwest immeasurably strengthened.

Despite these early difficulties, George Whipple finally came through his time of trial. His decade of direction, from 1866 until his death in 1876, was the most important decade in the history of the Association. In the

³⁹Shipherd to Whipple, May 25, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁰Shipherd to Strieby, July 2, 1868; Shipherd to Whipple, October 14, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

main his assistants were able people. Edward P. Smith and E. M. Cravath proved excellent directors of field work, and General Charles H. Howard, who succeeded Shipherd at Chicago, was a fair administrator but more important possessed the magic name of "Howard" so effective among Midwest Congregationalists. Howard's relations with the New York Secretaries were generally harmonious.⁴¹

In the central office in New York, the secretaries divided labors in such a way that Secretary Whipple was responsible for the relations between the Freedmen's Bureau and the Association⁴² besides being the final authority in administrative matters. Both "old timers," Lewis Tappan and S. S. Jocelyn, were still quite active as late as the early 1870's, especially in the work of

⁴¹When Howard first went to Chicago some difficulties arose. The General Agent of the Association who worked under the direction of the Chicago Secretary, Rev. H. W. Cobb, was very critical of Howard. Cobb claimed that Howard was trying to clear the Chicago office of its old Shipherd men to find places for General C. H. Howard's own field staff. Though Cobb finally retained his job, it was doubtful for some time that he would despite his general effectiveness in collections. Mr. Oscar Sabin who had been Shipherd's treasurer (he was also his chief clerk, and had been since he was with the Northwest Freedmen's Aid Commission) was removed in favor of a friend of Howard's, Major S. N. Clark. The morale at the Chicago office was very low until the fall of 1867. See Cobb to Whipple, January 26, 1869, August 27, 1869, August 19, 1869; Howard to Strieby, February 11, 1869; Cobb to Strieby, April 9, 1869; E. P. Smith to Strieby, January 29, 1869; Howard to Whipple, June 24, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴²Discussed in Chapter II.

soliciting legacies for the Association.⁴³ But Secretary Michael E. Strieby had the most thankless task of all. Besides responsibility for most of the complaints from personnel in the field, it was his special concern to see that the various agents collecting funds for the Association were on the job and doing well. The lifeblood of a benevolent enterprise is the money that flows into its treasury, and the struggle was constant to raise sufficient funds to keep the large force of missionaries in the Southern field. Sizeable debts piled up from time to time, notably in the late 1860's and mid-1870's, and the Association was never on what could be termed safe financial ground until about 1880.⁴⁴

As early as the mid-1860's the Association had become one of the great benevolent societies judging by the revenues it collected. In the years between 1862 and 1866 the cash income of the Association increased five fold.⁴⁵

⁴³Jocelyn, especially, circulated widely through New England and New York in quest of large donations for the Association. See Correspondence from Jocelyn, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁴See chart in the Appendix.

⁴⁵The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions received \$339,080.56 in the fiscal year 1861-1862 while the A.M.A. received but \$44,116.86. By 1866 the Association received \$253,045.98; the American Board's revenues grew only slightly. American Missionary, VI (November, 1862), 241-42.

This great increase, caused in part by the cooperation of the Freedmen's Bureau, was due largely to the increased contribution by Congregational churches to the Association following the National Council meeting in June, 1865.

The principal reason for the calling of a National Council of Congregational Churches in 1865, only the second such body called in the history of American Congregationalism, was the concern for missions among the Congregational churches. It was hoped that the council would determine the proper channels for Congregational giving as well as provide a stimulus to denominational giving.⁴⁶ After long deliberation three societies were designated by the Council for the special concern of its churches, and a total sum of \$750,000 authorized for them—\$300,000 for the American Home Missionary Society, \$250,000 for the American Missionary Association and \$200,000 for the American Congregational Union.⁴⁷ It was following this official endorsement by American Congregationalism that the Association expanded its collection machinery by opening its three District Offices.

But the Association was able to tap funds other than Congregational ones collected in this country. Other

⁴⁶Gaius G. Atkins and Fred L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston, 1942), pp. 301-306.

⁴⁷Pamphlet Box 155, II, Congregational Library.

denominations used the A.M.A. as their avenue for freedmen's aid.⁴⁸ Perhaps the most efficient of the Association's agencies, if one compares the amount of funds collected to the amount spent for collection, were those in England. In the three years that followed the end of the war the A.M.A. sent a total of six agents abroad,⁴⁹ and in 1866 alone about forty thousand dollars in money and "much clothing" was collected from individuals, denominational groups and freedmen's aid societies in England.⁵⁰

Despite the tremendous rise in revenues, the expenditures of the Association increased even more. This increased spending was largely because the Association chose to accept a debt rather than lose the opportunity to buy promising school properties in the South. Prices were low at the time, but more important, the Freedmen's Bureau promised to match funds and erect buildings on properties held in the South by the benevolent associations. The A.M.A. risked rather large deficits amounting in 1868 to over fifty thousand dollars in order to take advantage of

⁴⁸See Chapter I.

⁴⁹Sella Martin, Dr. H. M. Storrs, Rev. John C. Holbrook, Dr. W. W. Patton, Rev. James A. Thome and Levi Coffin. The Rev. J. P. Thompson was also abroad, but largely on his own interests. At the time of this trip Dr. Thompson was a vice president of the A.F.U.C.

⁵⁰American Missionary, X (December, 1866), 268.

this generosity of the Bureau.⁵¹ But with the end of the Bureau in the early 1870's another sort of financial problem was presented to the Association—the loss of some thirty thousand dollars or more each year in direct revenues from government funds. Saddled with a sizeable debt, and faced by declining income, the A.M.A. entered the seventies with a program of retrenchment.⁵²

The early 1870's provided other perils to the continued fiscal health of the Association. The Chicago fire of 1871 "dried up the streams of charity" from the Northwest, and District Secretary Howard complained that "Our receipts . . . never were so low."⁵³ In the spring of 1874 the Association began to feel the effects of the panic of the previous year. This crisis brought on an addition of over forty thousand dollars to the Association's debt between 1874 and 1876. Receipts for the years between 1874 and 1880 averaged less than two hundred thousand dollars

⁵¹Assistant Treasurer William E. Whiting was the most concerned over this mounting deficit. He "comes to me," wrote Whipple, "almost with tears, begging that everything . . . be delayed" Whipple to Armstrong, November 19, 1868, A.M.A. Archives. General Armstrong, of course, was one of those persons least willing that "everything be delayed." He was continually seeking the financial help of the Association for Hampton.

⁵²American Missionary, XIV (September, 1870), 204; (November, 1870), 250. It was in this same financial crisis that the American Freedmen's Union Commission completely collapsed.

⁵³American Missionary, XVI (May, 1872), 110.

annually and represented a drop of nearly twenty-five percent of the revenues enjoyed by the Association in the eight years prior to this time.⁵⁴ The decline of revenues brought austerity budgets like that of \$179,279.17 for 1876-1877 which sent only 252 missionaries to the field, a real drop when compared to the more than five hundred sent in 1867 and 1868. The central office staff accepted cuts in salary at this time, and by 1877 the Association was operating with no Field Secretary and only one Corresponding Secretary.⁵⁵ In 1876, the year in which the least was expended on operating expenses, the Association began a concerted campaign to liquidate its \$90,000 debt. Through the sale of property and gifts designated for debt reduction, this sizeable sum was erased so that at the time of the Annual Meeting in October, 1879, the officers gladly reported "No debt, no deficit."⁵⁶

As long as George Whipple directed the affairs of the Association, the Christian education of the freedmen which had been emphasized since the early 1860's was continued. The decline of revenues in the 1870's required the

⁵⁴ See chart in Appendix.

⁵⁵ American Missionary, XX (August, 1876), 171. Cravath had resigned by this time to become President of Fisk, Whipple had died, and neither had been replaced.

⁵⁶ Ibid., XXXIII (November, 1879), 323.

abandonment of many of the common schools formerly maintained and taught by Northern teachers. But austerity in this case merely forced the Association to concentrate upon the more economical way of elevating the Negro's status through education—normal schools for the education of Negro teachers. By 1873 the Association reported \$408,000 in land and buildings invested in school properties in the South, most of which was concentrated in some twenty schools training teachers. Furthermore, property of the value of \$150,000 to \$200,000 had been surrendered to Berea and Hampton, both begun under the auspices of the Association.⁵⁷

After George Whipple's death in 1876, Michael E. Strieby was the only corresponding secretary of the retrenching association for more than a decade. Like Whipple, Strieby was a graduate of Oberlin Seminary. He had extensive experience in the parish ministry at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and Syracuse, New York, before coming to the Association in 1864 as corresponding secretary at the age of forty-nine. Though lacking in Whipple's firm judiciousness, Strieby unmistakably possessed Whipple's devotion to the ideals of the A.M.A. On the whole, however, the leadership provided by Strieby was more erratic and more

⁵⁷Ibid., XXVII (December, 1873), 272.

conservative than Whipple's. The debt that developed in the prosperous 1880's, for example, was the product of improper budgeting rather than "necessary over-expansion" as in 1868 or business panic as in the early 1870's.⁵⁸ In the years under Strieby the Association abandoned some of its traditional emphasis upon Negro education and moved increasingly into other areas of endeavor—into the spread of Congregationalism as a denomination among the freedmen and a renewed emphasis upon Indian and Southern white work.⁵⁹ Strieby even more than Whipple wished to avoid controversy. Under him the Association went far toward accommodating

⁵⁸A budget for the year 1884 was drawn up on the basis of income from the year 1883, a year with an abnormally high income from legacies. The result was a fourteen thousand dollar deficit. American Missionary, XXXVIII (May, 1884), 129.

⁵⁹These developments had already been begun under Whipple's leadership, however. The California missions among the Chinese were started in 1869; Indian missions were renewed when E. P. Smith went to Minnesota as an Indian agent for the Government; and Berea College and other stations ministered in part to the Mountain whites of the South in Whipple's day. But under Strieby's leadership these "peripheral" activities began to crowd more and more upon the work of educating the Negro in the South. The Indian work was greatly expanded when the Association took over the Dakota missions from the American Board in 1883, and in the previous year the Association began to move with increasing vigor to work among the Mountain whites. While perhaps seventy percent of the budget of the Association went into freedmen's work during Whipple's ten year tenure, by 1887 probably no more than fifty percent of the budget of the Association was going to the Negro, and about twenty percent was spent on Indian work.

itself to the sentiment of the South, thus diverting the original intention of the founders of the Association.⁶⁰

During Michael Strieby's tenure as Senior Secretary after 1876 two rather important administrative steps were taken—the creation of the Bureau of Women's Work, and the establishment of comity agreements between the Association and the other great Congregational missionary societies, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society. The place of women in the Association had been an important one for years. Many women had volunteered to teach in the South in the years after emancipation; others stayed on the "home front", collecting clothing or sewing to make money for the ex-slave. In 1869 District Secretary Woodworth of Boston published a pamphlet encouraging "Ladies Aid Work for Women" which also provided a model constitution for women's societies that wished to give financial support to some woman missionary on the field.⁶¹ In 1873 Mr. Woodworth prepared another pamphlet seeking to form local women's auxiliaries to support some of the work of the Association.⁶² At the Association's annual meeting in 1874 the "ladies of

⁶⁰See Chapter VII.

⁶¹Circular on the back of a letter from Col. C. G. Baylor to "Dear Brethren," April 3, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶²American Missionary, XVII (October, 1873), 231.

the congregation retired" during one of the sessions and passed some resolutions favoring women's work, though they did "not deem it advisable to organize distinct female auxiliaries" to the Association at this time.⁶³

But as the women's movement grew an auxiliary was formed in 1880, the Women's Home Missionary Society of Boston, which contributed nearly one thousand dollars a month in collections to the A.M.A. and the American Home Missionary Society.⁶⁴ Difficulties soon developed, however, over the selection and support of the women missionaries stationed in the South who carried on visitation among Negro women and children. Part of this difficulty resulted from distance—New York and Boston were far apart. Another difficulty was the fact that two societies were trying to direct the same personnel. And, no doubt, the suspicions of Lewis Tappan's old society⁶⁵ about the inability of women to direct anything had some effect. In any event the A.M.A. severed its relationship with the Women's Home Missionary Society in late 1882. In the spring of 1883 the Association formed its own Bureau of Women's Work.⁶⁶

⁶³Ibid., XVIII (December, 1874), 269.

⁶⁴Ibid., XXXIV (May, 1880), 134; XXXV (March, 1881), 87.

⁶⁵Tappan had been the most prominent anti-feminist of the leaders in the benevolent empire.

⁶⁶American Missionary, XXXVI (November, 1882), 321; XXXVII (May, 1883), 129-130; XXXVII (June, 1883), 161-62.

This Bureau was placed under the direction of Miss Delia E. Emerson, who had been connected with the Association for years, first as a teacher, then as an "educational secretary" who traveled among the churches telling of the Association's work in the South. Her administration of the Women's Bureau was very successful. By 1885 auxiliaries in sixteen states contributed nearly ten thousand dollars to the treasury of the A.M.A., and by 1889 there was an organized auxiliary to the Women's Bureau in thirty states.⁶⁷

Another important administrative development during Strieby's tenure as Senior Secretary was the emergence of agreements with the other great Congregational missionary societies, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society. It will be remembered that the A.M.A. had initially been founded in opposition to the equivocating position on slavery followed by these two older societies. When the Congregational national councils began giving their official sanction to these groups and encouraging its churches to give heavily to their treasuries, some voices were raised against the waste involved in duplication of effort. When the Oberlin

⁶⁷One of these auxiliaries was the Women's Home Missionary Society of Boston. American Missionary, XL (January, 1886), 13; XLIII (December, 1889), 402-403.

National Council met in 1871 some people feared that this body would call for the dissolution of one or more of these missionary societies. When in fact this Council gave its renewed support to an expanded program of all three societies, the mere debate was sufficient to cause the officers of each of these societies to seek to simplify their appeals and rid themselves of missions felt to be in the field of another society.⁶⁸

The immediate result for the Association was a simplification of its "mission" to the "three despised races"—the Negro in Africa and America, the Indian in the western United States, and the Chinese on the Pacific Coast. The Sandwich Island, Siamese and Jamaican missions were abandoned, and only the Mendi Mission in Africa was retained abroad because of "historical sentiment."⁶⁹

When the National Council met again at New Haven in 1874, more discussions on possible consolidation of the work of the Congregational societies were held. The most important recommendations coming to the Council were three in number—1) that the A.M.A. consolidate its church

⁶⁸Ibid., XVI (January, 1872 and April, 1872) contain much discussion of this problem.

⁶⁹Ibid., XVII (December, 1873), 273. The Mendi Mission was not a very successful one financially, and it was feared that it might be abandoned if the Association gave up its hold. Furthermore, the large Avery legacy was a designated one for the evangelization of Africa.

building and publishing activities with the A.H.M.S., 2) that the A.M.A. transfer its African missions to the American Board and 3) that the American Board transfer its Dakota Indian mission to the A.M.A. These recommendations were not adopted at this time, but they provided the focus for talks between the societies for the next decade.⁷⁰

Despite the recognition of the problems involved as early as 1874, little was done about it for many years. In the late 1870's, in fact, the Association became enamored with the "African fever" of the day, and accepted a challenge to open a new African mission on the upper Nile, to be financed in part by Robert Arthington, a British philanthropist. Sizeable sums were raised to try and begin this Arthington Mission on the scale felt necessary. In the end it, along with the Mendi Mission in West Africa, proved to be embarrassments when the Association sought agreements with the American Board.

The only satisfactory agreement involving the Association was with the American Board. In 1882 committees at long last were appointed by both societies to confer about a "trade" of missions—the Dakota Indian missions of the Board for the two African missions of the Association. In the course of these deliberations, however, it became

⁷⁰American Missionary, XVIII (November, 1874), 252-255.

apparent that the American Board did not want either of the African missions. Finally the Board's large Dakota missions were transferred to the Association on January 1, 1883, and the Association was left to dispose of its missions in Africa as it felt best. Eventually the Mendi Mission with the Avery income to help support it was given to the United Brethren, and the Arthington Mission was taken over by the United Presbyterians who then operated a successful mission in Egypt.⁷¹

The Association never worked out a satisfactory agreement with the American Home Missionary Society on the problem of church extension. Both societies did agree to avoid organizing churches in cities in the South where the other had already organized a church unless a "previous conference with the officers" of the other society had been held. Practically speaking, however, this was no barrier to continued misunderstanding.⁷²

After the Constitutional change of 1883 the Association could no longer be governed by one person. Perhaps one reason for this change was the fact that the kindly Strieby, unlike George Whipple, never learned to dominate

⁷¹Ibid., XXXVI (September, 1882) and XXXVII (December, 1883) have long articles about this change of mission stations.

⁷²Minutes of the Executive Committee, November 28, 1882, p. 159. See the following chapter for more discussion

the society effectively. Instead, by the late 1880's the Chairman of the Board of Directors, John H. Washburn, rose to a position nearly as important as that of the Senior Corresponding Secretary. By 1888 when the real financial difficulties of the Association were ended by the gift of over one million dollars from Daniel Hand, the A.M.A. had entered upon a new era of administrative leadership. For several years prior to this the elderly Strieby had been handing the reins of executive leadership to new and younger hands. Since 1883 when the brilliant Rev. James Powell was brought to New York from the Chicago Office, Strieby had been grooming him to take the chief place. But Mr. Powell was not well, and two years later Augustus F. Beard was brought to be Associate Corresponding Secretary with Powell. Beard was called to the Association from the parish ministry as Strieby had been years before. In 1887 both Powell and Beard were raised to the position of corresponding secretaries alongside Strieby. Within a matter of months, however, Powell died. Strieby was broken-hearted by Powell's death and never had much enthusiasm for the burdens of leadership after this time. Thus the year 1888 represents the inauguration of Mr. Beard's long tenure as the most active of the corresponding secretaries as well as the date of Mr. Hand's generous

gift.⁷³

Thus had the administration of the American Missionary Association functioned across four decades. Lewis Tappan's tight little society had grown painfully into the heroic society dominated by the judicious George Whipple. Yet even while Whipple presided over the destinies of the Association, declining revenues and the temper of the nation were forcing retrenchment. With the death of Whipple in 1876 the pioneering days passed, for Michael Strieby proved too hesitant a leader to push boldly into new fields with consistency. Although the debts of the past were liquidated and the future fiscal stability of the Association guaranteed by the million dollar gift of Daniel Hand, Strieby's society stands in marked contrast to the dynamic, crusading Association of the days of Tappan and Whipple. However, as a skeleton without flesh and blood is lifeless, so an administration without important activities to support becomes meaningless. Let us now turn from the skeleton of administrative policy to the flesh and blood of the field activities of the American Missionary Association.

⁷³See Powell's obituary notice in American Missionary, XLII (February, 1888), 29-30.

CHAPTER IV

PLANTING CONGREGATIONALISM

Although the Civil War purchased freedom for the American Negro, it was the ex-slave who suffered most as a result of the war. Without food, clothing or shelter, the freedman entered his new status with little save a few friends, a well-trying patience and an earnest desire to improve himself. A few of his friends in the North had been agitating for his freedom for many years and were ready to lend a helping hand when the Negro stood in the need of aid.

The Negro's most immediate need was physical relief, and thousands of boxes of clothing and supplies were sent to him from Northern and English friends. The American Missionary Association was only one of the many avenues through which the streams of Northern benevolence flowed to the ex-slave, and in the late sixties over \$350,000 worth of supplies was sent South through the A.M.A. alone.¹

¹In 1865 the A.M.A. sent \$61,674.40 in supplies southward, in 1866 \$105,441, and in 1867 \$89,443.00. The individual missionaries had complete charge of the distribution of these supplies. From July, 1864 to July, 1869, \$350,894.40 was sent. American Missionary, XIII (December, 1869), 270.

Perhaps the most pitiful victims of the fearful conditions following the war were the Negro children. Deprived of parents because of war and plague, hundreds of orphans were found in each of the large centers of Negro population. To sustain the abandoned children the A.M.A. established orphanages which provided supervision, security and regular meals until foster homes could be found. The A.M.A. operated three orphanages—one in Wilmington, North Carolina, another in Atlanta, Georgia, and a third in Adrian, Michigan. The Adrian institution operated as a temporary Northern home for some seventy orphans sent from the South until homes could be found for them in the North.

So tragic was the condition of the colored children in Wilmington, that when an appeal was made to build an asylum for them in late March, 1866, the funds were fully subscribed nineteen days later. In mid-April Mr. J. J. H. Gregory, a seed grower in Marblehead, Massachusetts, requested the "privilege" of assuming the payment of "the whole cost" of the asylum.² The funds previously subscribed were now applied toward the purchase of facilities of another asylum in Atlanta. In June the operation of the Atlanta asylum was guaranteed by Ichabod Washburn, a manufacturer in Worcester, Massachusetts.³ Both orphanages

²Ibid., X (May, 1866), 97.

³Ibid., X (October, 1866), 226.

operated only a few years and by 1870 were abandoned.

In 1871 a somewhat similar enterprise, the Hathaway home for the Poor and Friendless in New Orleans, was begun under independent trustees but in full cooperation with the Association. Property valued at \$20,000 was deeded to a board of trustees by Mr. Elisha Hathaway of Bristol, Rhode Island, to begin a home for the care of "destitute and sick" freedmen.⁴

On the whole, however, the Association concentrated its efforts on methods thought to be more lasting than relief; it sought to aid the freedman to elevate himself. Education was the principal means used to accomplish this⁵ but there were other ways as well. Encouragement of the infant Negro press was one of these efforts.⁶ Another was

⁴Ibid., XV (April, 1871), 85.

⁵To be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

⁶The place of the A.M.A. in the early Negro press was considerable. Many of the Association's institutions established their own presses and printed promotional material periodically. The Southern Workman was begun at Hampton in 1872 with the full support and encouragement of the A.M.A. (See American Missionary, XVI, April, 1872, 84.) Fisk University published first the Expositor, then the Fisk Herald in the 1880's, of which W. E. B. DuBois was editor during his student days. There were also the Talladega Southern Sentinel, the Straight Occasional and the Emerson Institute Sentinel. (American Missionary, XX, April, 1866, 75; XXXII, February, 1878, 33.) In 1876 the American Missionary devoted several articles to the status of the Negro press. (See April and June, 1876, and June, 1882.)

The Rev. Sella Martin, formerly an agent and a member of the Executive Committee of the Association edited with Frederick Douglass the New Era, the first major Negro periodical in this country.

the support of various schemes to make the Negro a land-owner. As early as 1865 the Rev. John G. Fee, then an Association missionary in Kentucky, proposed that persons "in Ohio and elsewhere" form a company to buy and sell land to the Negroes. Because some people believed that Southerners would not "sell a scrap to a nigger," Fee voiced his hope that such a real estate company would help the freedmen obtain some economic security. Such a venture might be made at a profit, Fee suggested, for soon the low land prices then prevailing in Kentucky would rise.⁷ Other plans similar to this one were suggested to the Association as being beneficial to the Negro as well as profitable to the "benefactors."⁸ Of all these dreamers of land projects for the Association Colonel C. G. Baylor of Boston was the most ambitious. He and some friends in Boston and Washington, many of whom were connected with the Association,⁹

⁷American Missionary, X (January, 1866), 18.

⁸W. L. Coan to Whipple, Strieby and Woodworth, October 18, 1865, A.M.A. Archives. Whipple suggested in the American Missionary, IX (December, 1865), 266, a homestead law for Negro land ownership in the South.

Captain Wilder proposed that the Government provide the Negro with land gratuitously. American Missionary, XII (September, 1868), 206-207. S. S. Ashley, then Superintendent of Public Instruction in South Carolina, proposed that schools and land were the proper basis of reconstructing the Negro. American Missionary, XIII (February, 1869), 37.

⁹President E. N. Kirk of the Association was sympathetic, and Mr. E. S. Tobey, Governor Claflin and Senator Henry Wilson showed interest in his plans. (Baylor to "Dear Sir," January 4, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.) Baylor went on to Washington, D.C., and interested Rep. Julian, Chairman of the

proposed various schemes which included a "Boston Company" to develop unheard of uses of the sweet potato to be grown by the freedmen in the South,¹⁰ a Homestead Farm Cotton Cultivation Society in Georgia¹¹ and a Southern Land and Settlement Company.¹² Furthermore, Colonel Baylor lobbied actively for the passage of national legislation for freedmen's homesteads, and the Association maintained him on salary for several months during the years 1868 and 1869.¹³

Although the Association entered into some of these projects designed to make the Negro a landowner, there is no evidence that it served as anything other than a link between investors and Negroes desiring to purchase land. Influenced by Gerrit Smith's experiment, the A.M.A. as early as 1868 had realized that mere ownership of land was not sufficient to ease the plight of the freedmen. Smith had brought several Negroes north, given them a bit of land and fifty dollars cash, but in nearly every case the poor

Committee on Public Lands, Senator Sumner, Secretary of Treasury Boutwell, Senator Pomeroy and Commissioner C. O. Howard in his schemes. (Baylor to Brethren, December 21, 1868; January 20, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.)

¹⁰Baylor to Secretaries, October 5, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

¹¹Baylor to A.M.A., November 28, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

¹²Baylor to A.M.A., January, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

¹³Baylor to "Brethren," January 26, 1869; and Kirk to Whipple and Strieby, February 19, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

freedman had lost his land.¹⁴ Therefore, when the Association provided means for the freedmen to acquire land, it attempted to build a community by supporting a school nearby, and often a church besides. The land company formed under the auspices of the Association functioned on a revolving basis expending its capital¹⁵ on Southern lands which were broken up and sold to the freedmen "at double cost on five years time." When this money was repaid it furnished the capital for the purchase of other lands to be sold on a similar basis.¹⁶

The Association established several communities on this basis. The Rev. H. S. Beals began the first one seven miles from Beaufort, North Carolina, on the North River¹⁷ at a place later called Woodbridge. The Association also maintained a church and school there.¹⁸ Other communities

¹⁴American Missionary, XII (September, 1868), 207.

¹⁵This money was acquired very easily. Several friends of the Association were willing to invest in such a scheme —Henry M. Kinney, Elisha Hathaway (see Hathaway Home above), and Fredrick Tuckett of London, England. American Missionary, XII (July, 1868), 155-56; XIII (May, 1869), 110.

¹⁶Ibid., XII (July, 1868), 155-56.

¹⁷Ibid., XIII (May, 1869), 107-111.

¹⁸Ibid., XVI (September, 1872), 194, has a letter from Edward Bull, the minister first to serve the Woodbridge community. This church was generally called the Dudley Church.

of a similar nature were formed in the South—at Lake Simmonett, Louisiana,¹⁹ Strieby, North Carolina,²⁰ and McIntosh, Georgia.²¹ Furthermore, all colonization efforts which carried southward persons sympathetic toward the Association's work²² were actively encouraged, and many of these communities formed nuclei around which Congregational churches were formed in the South.

Before the Civil War only two Congregational churches existed in the deep South—Circular Church in Charleston, South Carolina, and Old Midway Church in Liberty County,

¹⁹This community was begun by six Negro families who joined their resources to purchase an old farm. The Association was asked to provide a church and a school. American Missionary, XIV (January, 1870), 6.

²⁰Strieby was a village built by one man, the Rev. Islay Walden, a missionary of the A.M.A. who had graduated from Howard University and the American Reformed Seminary. Walden went into a "destitute" area, rallied the people about him, and established a village with a church, school and post office. Walden served the church as minister, the school as teacher and the post office as postmaster. American Missionary, XXXVIII (April, 1884), 98.

²¹McIntosh was the community of the Negro members of Old Midway Church in Liberty County, Georgia. After the war the ex-slaves withdrew from Midway Church and established their own church four miles away. The Dorchester Academy was also built here.

²²There were several active appeals for colonies in the South in the American Missionary, XIV (September, 1870), 204-205; it endorsed the "Laborer's Homestead and Southern Emigration Society" organized at Boston. American Missionary, XVIII (April, 1874), 86-87.

Georgia.²³ Both supported slavery and both had Negro members who were forced to sit in the back balcony to worship and not allowed to hold church offices. In Kentucky several churches had been established in the 1850's by John G. Fee and others on an anti-slavery and non-denominational basis. By 1861 two of these Kentucky churches were still in existence despite the persecution of Fee and his associates. Beginning in Kentucky with this work of Fee who was supported by the American Missionary

²³ Prior to the Civil War it is difficult to speak of Congregationalism as a denomination. True, Congregationalism had a creed and a polity, but its distinguishing characteristic was that it was the New England Church. As New Englanders moved westward, they carried their church with them. To a remarkable degree the Congregational churches in the Old Northwest were made up of descendants of persons who had come from New England.

Few New Englanders moved South, and most of those who did, all save the "die hards" at Charleston and at Midway, were absorbed into the Presbyterian Church which held to a similar creed. For a half century, from 1801 to 1852, it was believed by most leading "Congregationalists" that the "peculiar" polity and order of the "denomination" could not maintain itself outside the New England town where the school and church played so important a part. Western Congregationalists had to contend for a generation against the sentiment that Congregationalism as such could not exist west of the Hudson River. At mid-century this belief was recognized as a mistaken one, and in 1852 American Congregationalists met for the first time in a National Council at Albany, New York. The second National Council did not meet until 1865 in Boston; the third was at Oberlin, Ohio in 1871. Thereafter the National Council met triennially. On this see Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Wagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston, 1942), pp. 300-306 and William Warren Sweet, The Congregationalists: Vol. III of Religion on the American Frontier (Chicago, 1939), pp. 305, 330-331.

Association, the A.M.A. became most instrumental in giving Congregationalism its first important encouragement south of the Ohio River.

The American Missionary Association did not become admittedly Congregational until the 1870's, although it had leaned heavily toward the Congregational Church. Even in the days when it claimed to be interdenominational, for example, the Association's leadership was generally drawn from members of Congregational churches, and most of its revenues came from them.²⁴ In its field activities, too, the Association supported enterprises which generally became Congregational. Of the 173 anti-slavery churches supported by the A.M.A. in the Old Northwest before 1861, ninety of them became Congregational.²⁵ The dilemma of a "non-sectarian" society being responsible for founding

²⁴This was despite the fact that the A.M.A. was not fully accepted in a majority of the Congregational churches until 1859. The more conservative churches feared the abolitionism which the Association preached, equating it in general with the attitudes held by the Garrison group of non-evangelical abolitionists. Lloyd Vincent Hennings, The American Missionary Association, A Christian Anti-slavery Society (M.A. thesis, Oberlin College, 1933), p. 9. The identification with the Congregationalists became much greater after the Boston National Council in 1865 recommended to the Congregational churches of the nation that \$250,000 be raised for the support of the A.M.A. The A.M.A. raised over \$250,000 in total budget in the fiscal year 1865-1866, and of this sum over half came directly from Congregational churches.

²⁵Fred L. Brownlee, New Day Ascending (Boston, 1946), p. 215. These figures are from a study made by Dr. George L. Cady, the A.M.A. Secretary in the 1920's.

churches of one denominational order plagued the efforts of the Association for many years. Immediately following the war the A.M.A., partly in order to receive government funds,²⁶ vehemently insisted upon its non-sectarian foundations. This fact made the formation of Congregational churches a most embarrassing problem.

If it was true to its evangelical Christian beliefs, the Association could hardly confine itself to educational activities in its program to elevate the freedmen. By 1864 the A.M.A. had four churches under its care—three in Kentucky conducted among both whites and Negroes, and one among the freedmen near Hampton, Virginia.²⁷ Until 1867 the Association made no attempts to organize churches, yet in that year three Congregational churches were organized by local action—in Charleston, Atlanta and Chattanooga. The Charleston church, the first permanent church begun under the Association for the freedmen, was organized around the Negro members of Old Circular Church in Charleston; both the Atlanta and Chattanooga churches grew out of

²⁶Between the years 1867 and 1871 most of these funds were federal ones through the instrumentality of the Freedmen's Bureau. During that time and for many years thereafter the funds came from various local school boards in the South. See the next chapter on this latter point.

²⁷American Missionary, XXXIII (December, 1879), 370. The three Kentucky churches were Berea, Camp Nelson and Bethesda Church near Maysville.

schools planted by the Association. All these churches were bi-racial from inception.²⁸

For several years after these churches were formed, the Association moved uncertainly in its endeavors to establish its church work in the South. But the condition of the freedmen's religion with its tolerance of intemperance and hyper-emotionalism caused many to demand "purer churches." Many a Congregationalist in the North saw no reason why the Association he supported should not move aggressively into church extension.²⁹ The Association was reminded repeatedly that the National Council in designating the A.M.A. as the proper channel for Congregational aid to the freedmen expected that the Association would move "as rapidly as possible" to establish churches of Congregational faith and polity.³⁰

In response to these criticisms the Association in 1869 called together representatives of the twenty-seven churches in the South which had been organized without any active encouragement of the A.M.A. These representatives

²⁸American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1891), p. 47.

²⁹American Missionary, XI (September, 1867), 203; (November, 1867), 243; XII (February, 1869), 25. This last entry has an appeal for a "disciplined religion" for the freedmen.

³⁰American Missionary, XII (June, 1868), 136.

met at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in November, 1869, to map an over-all strategy for church extension in the South. This meeting was the first such meeting held by Congregationalists in the South.

The churches represented at Chattanooga had very diverse backgrounds. The oldest had been formed in 1832 in Columbus, Mississippi, by a small anti-slavery group, but most of the churches were less than three years old. Two of them were wholly white in membership;³¹ fourteen of them were Negro mission churches in the vicinity of New Orleans; and eight of them were churches which had grown out of schools founded by the A.M.A.³² Some were "educationally conscious" and sacrificed numbers in membership for an insistence upon temperance and active churchmanship,³³ while others were nearly as revivalistic as the

³¹Memphis "Church of the Strangers," formed in 1863, and New Orleans First Church.

³²The Charleston Church was not represented at Chattanooga. In the case of the Berea, Kentucky, Union Church the church preceded the school.

³³The Chattanooga church was perhaps the best example of this type of church. It had only thirty-four members, but it conducted a Sunday school of five hundred, and total abstinence was enforced among its members. It claimed to be "a power" in its community.

Baptist churches of the day.³⁴ Memphis enjoyed segregated Congregationalism, with a white and a Negro church, but most of the churches were bi-racial. Three churches consciously avoided the name, "Congregational," as being indicative of too sectarian a position.³⁵

By its recommendations the Chattanooga meeting of A.M.A. missionaries inaugurated the systematic expansion of Congregationalism in the South. Beginning with the position that "the faith and church polity of the Pilgrims" was sorely needed in the South, it went on to declare that such polity, "based as it is upon the intelligence of the people," required "the establishment of good schools, side by side, with the churches."³⁶ Thus was inaugurated the "church beside the school" policy followed by the Association for several years in its efforts to congregationalize the South.

Another important impetus given by the Chattanooga meeting was toward the establishment of permanent

³⁴The fourteen mission churches near New Orleans were such churches. The Camp Nelson, Kentucky, Church reported eighty conversions in the summer of 1867 alone, though this church reported "not a single drunkard."

³⁵These churches were the "Church of Christ" in Berea, Kentucky, founded in 1853, the "Union Church" at Camp Nelson, Kentucky, founded in 1864, and the "Union Church" at Fisk University in Nashville, founded in 1868.

The fullest discussion of the Chattanooga meeting can be found in the American Missionary, XIV (January, 1870), 2-5.

³⁶Ibid., XIV (January, 1870), 1.

Congregational associations and conferences. The recommendation of the meeting was to "organize local conferences" having New Orleans, Nashville, Atlanta and Charleston as their centers. The first of these Congregational associations formed in the South was the Southwestern Conference, later the Louisiana Congregational Association, begun on January 26, 1870. By 1873 there were three other Congregational conferences—in Kentucky, Texas, and the "Central South" which included the churches in Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama. By 1888 there were nine Congregational conferences and associations in the South,³⁷

³⁷ Louisiana Congregational Association	Formed	January 26, 1870
Central South Conference	"	October 25, 1871
(consisting originally of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. Later it included only Tennessee and North Alabama.)		
Southwest Texas Association	"	December 4, 1871
Congregational Association of Alabama	"	April 6, 1876
Georgia Congregational Association	"	December 12, 1878
North Carolina Conference	"	May 26, 1879
Mississippi Congregational Association	"	March 31, 1883
Arkansas State Association	"	October 25, 1887
Georgia United Conference	"	February 29, 1888

The United Conference of Georgia was a white conference made up of forty-one churches of Congregational Methodist and Protestant Methodist backgrounds which had merged with the white Congregational church formed in Atlanta in 1882. This was the largest Congregational conference in number of churches in the South.

American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association, with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1890), pp. 55-57.

besides the Association of Congregational Churches in Kentucky which had been in fellowship with other Congregational churches in the 1870's. In 1880 this group, under the leadership of the dynamic John G. Fee, then in the employ of the A.M.A., refused to elect representatives to the National Council of Congregational Churches despite overtures to it that it do so. Membership in the National Council Fee held to be "an endorsement of the sect principle, and inconsistent with the position of the Kentucky Association."³⁸

At Thanksgiving time in 1870, a year after the Chattanooga meeting, the Congregational churches of the nation made a Jubilee Memorial Offering celebrating the two-hundred fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. The funds raised were to be used for the purpose of promoting the Pilgrim faith in the South, and the plan aimed specifically at raising \$25,000 for a "Jubilee Professorship of Theology" at Atlanta University. Although large sums were not realized by this collection, it served to demonstrate Congregationalism's determination to become a truly national church, and the Association's willingness to be the vehicle of the denomination.³⁹

³⁸American Missionary, XXXIV (June, 1880), 172.

³⁹Ibid., XIV (December, 1870), 268.

During the early seventies Congregational churches were organized systematically throughout the South in the places where the A.M.A. had already established schools. A total membership of all the Association's churches grew from one thousand to over four thousand.⁴⁰ A conscious effort was made during these years to place a Congregational church beside every school maintained by the Association. Despite this plan, many Congregationalists were not satisfied, and the A.M.A. had some difficulty in maintaining this "church beside the school" program against many denominationalists who urged a more active program of evangelization. The Association's officers admitted that a number of churches could have been brought into fellowship with the various Congregational associations if mere numbers of communicants had been the end desired. It was pointed out, however, that there were peculiar difficulties involved in evangelizing the ex-slave which necessitated a slow, systematic growth and careful preparation for membership. For example, most of the Negroes were already members of some Christian church; Congregationalism was largely unknown among them in the South; but more important it was claimed that any denomination which insisted upon enforcing a strict puritanical

⁴⁰The 1871 membership was 1,077 members plus the members in the thirteen mission churches near New Orleans. The 1875 membership was 4,222.

morality among its Negro members, as the Congregational church did at that time, would inevitably suffer in total membership.⁴¹ No conference excommunicated quite as many as did Louisiana which cast out 119 wayward souls in the conference year, 1878-1879, but expulsions were common in all conferences for such sins as drunkenness and adultery.⁴²

Despite the very real expansion of the Association's churches before 1876, many people criticized the "church beside the school" program. They felt that Congregationalism was missing a great opportunity in not gathering numbers of Negroes into its churches. One energetic missionary suggested borrowing "from the Methodists a God honored plan" of employing "illiterate helpers."⁴³ Of course sons of Yale and Oberlin could not accept this, but gradually more popular methods of church extension were tried. In 1872 the Association employed the Rev. D. R. Miller to conduct a five-month revival at Selma and Marion, Alabama.⁴⁴ In four widely separated areas energetic Association ministers built clusters of mission churches

⁴¹American Missionary, XVI (December, 1872), 271-72.

⁴²Ibid., XXXIII (June, 1879), 178.

⁴³Ibid., XVIII (February, 1874), 34.

⁴⁴Ibid., XVI (August, 1872), 172-74.

which they helped serve from some central point. One of these groups of churches was formed by the Rev. J. W. Healy, first President of Straight University, in the area around New Orleans. A similar cluster was begun around Savannah by the Rev. A. Rowe.⁴⁵ The Rev. Henry S. Bennett, head of the Fisk University department of theology, besides acting as pastor of the Union Church at Fisk, served points as far away as McMinnville, Tennessee, and Athens, Alabama. The fourth of these "church builders," the Rev. H. E. Brown, used a tent in which to conduct his revivals assisted by his theological students at Talladega. Brown began a number of churches in this manner in the vicinity of Talladega, Alabama.⁴⁶

By 1875 the Association had established two theological schools on a firm footing at Atlanta and Howard universities, and had inaugurated theological departments in three other schools—Straight, Talladega and Fisk. The Atlanta theological school was closed in 1876 because President Ware wished to demonstrate the non-sectarian character of the University, but both Talladega and Fisk eventually developed important and influential theological departments. Today Howard University's School of Religion

⁴⁵Ibid., XIV (August, 1875), 186.

⁴⁶Ibid., XIX (September, 1875), 210.

is the only one existing with the theological departments and schools maintained by the A.M.A.⁴⁷

To meet the criticisms of Congregationalists who felt that the "church alongside the school" strategy followed by the Association since 1870 was not effective enough, the officers of the A.M.A. called another conference of missionaries, this time to meet in Atlanta, to discuss the future direction for the Association's activities. This Atlanta Conference met in April of 1875. Although this meeting was called to consider educational as well as church problems, the recommendations made by this body concerning church extension were most important. The missionaries who attended this meeting agreed that the Negro's status thirteen years after emancipation was very discouraging. He was financially in deep poverty, intellectually his advancement was slight and spiritually his condition was depressed. The A.M.A. missionaries claimed that the larger Negro denominations were doing little to elevate the generally low moral level of the ex-slave. Thus the Association was "duty bound" to enter fully into a program of

⁴⁷ Ibid., XVII (August, 1873), 178; XIX (February, 1875), 28. Dwight O. W. Holmes, "Fifty Years of Howard University," Journal of Negro History, III (1918), 372. Myron W. Adams, A History of Atlanta University, 1865-1929 (Atlanta, 1930), p. 17.

church extension to found "pure churches."⁴⁸ The Association concluded that it must abandon its policy of merely placing a church beside each of its schools and enter upon a program of active preaching and evangelization.⁴⁹

Because of the depleted condition of the Association's finances in the mid-seventies, this preaching program was entered into at first with some restraint. Only fifteen new churches were begun in the next three years, a pace even slower than that previously set, and there was no appreciable rise in church membership. But in 1878 the Rev. James E. Roy was employed by the A.M.A. as its Field Secretary. With this appointment the real expansion in the Association's church extension activities began. Dr. Roy was a graduate of Knox College and of Union Theological Seminary. He had long been associated with Congregationalism in the Old Northwest, first as Superintendent of the A.M.A.'s churches in that area. When these churches were transferred to the American Home Missionary Society during the war, Roy too went into the employ of that society. An 1878 reorganization of the A.H.M.S. had left Mr. Roy unemployed, and the A.M.A. eagerly sought his services. Roy gave the first real direction that

⁴⁸American Missionary, XVII (July, 1873), 156; XIX (June, 1875), 121-22, 124, 133.

⁴⁹Ibid., XX (September, 1876), 191-195.

Congregationalism was to have in the South. He related the various associations and conferences to one another, and carried on a tremendously active visitation in the various portions of his vast field of responsibility. In a single month in 1885, for example, he helped conduct revivals at Talladega, explored with Professor Henry S. Bennett of Fisk the possibilities of opening the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee to the A.M.A.'s ministry, and attended three association meetings—in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama.⁵⁰ He was the first of the Association's field secretaries to live in the South.⁵¹ Because of the great distances in his field of responsibility, he was able to maintain his pace for only seven years, from 1878 to 1885. In that time the five associations in the South had become eight, its sixty-four Congregational churches had grown to 113, and its 4,212 members had become 7,512.⁵²

Much of the Association's success in church extension during this period was due to the evangelical work of the Rev. J. C. Fields who was employed as a travelling evangelist for nearly five years from 1881 to 1885. Mr. Fields operated as intensively as Dr. Roy did extensively, and

⁵⁰Ibid., XXXIV (May, 1885), 136.

⁵¹Dr. Roy operated from Atlanta.

⁵²James E. Roy, "To the Pastors and Churches in the South," 1885, May 15, p. 3, A.M.A. Archives.

during the time of his service preached in most of the South.⁵³ In 1884 he was responsible for most of the 914 persons who came to the A.M.A. churches on profession. In one meeting in Atlanta he reported 109 conversions.⁵⁴ Mr. Fields was by no means the only evangelist who conducted revivals in the A.M.A. churches. In the period after 1876 many "beautiful" revivals were reported in the Associations schools and churches, but Mr. Fields was certainly the most successful of the evangelists.⁵⁵

Not all of the gains in Congregational membership represented such clear gains for the total Kingdom of God. Oftimes members were taken from other denominations as in Florence, Alabama, in 1876, where an "ignorant man" had taken control of the local African Methodist Church and ruled so dictatorially that there was a rebellion against him. The local Negro teacher, a graduate of Fisk, wrote back to his teachers suggesting that a "Congregational fever" was raging at Florence and there was a strong possibility for the organization of a new church there. After some difficulty a Congregational church was

⁵³American Missionary, XXXVII (November, 1883), 336.

⁵⁴Ibid., XXXVIII (November, 1884), 333.

⁵⁵Dwight L. Moody preached once in Central Congregational Church, New Orleans, a church under the care of the A.M.A. American Missionary, XL (April, 1886), 103-104.

established in 1877 with twenty-one members, "a remarkably intelligent body of Christians."⁵⁶ In 1881 because of a disagreement with Bishop D. A. Payne, a group of African Methodists withdrew in Washington, D. C., to form the Plymouth Congregational Church;⁵⁷ a group of colored Presbyterians withdrew from their church to join the Mobile Congregational church in a body.⁵⁸ The Paris, Texas, church seems to have arisen spontaneously from a group of Negroes who were seeking a "pure New Testament" church. They proposed "embracing all Christians," and united into an African Congregational Church in order to try and reach this end.⁵⁹

Other churches had very different backgrounds. The McIntosh Dorchester Church in Georgia was the church of the Negro members of old Midway Church. The Strieby and Dudley churches in North Carolina and the Woodville church in Georgia were products of land colonization schemes; the

⁵⁶ I. B. Neale to Professor F. A. Chase, March 12, 1876; H. S. Bennett to Strieby, May 2, 1876, November 14, 1876, A.M.A. Archives. American Missionary, I (January, 1877), 5

⁵⁷ John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," Journal of Negro History, VII (1922), 99.

⁵⁸ A. B. Irwin to Strieby, February 12, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁹ American Missionary, XXXV (March, 1881), 83.

Lincoln Memorial Church in Washington, the Raleigh, Louisville and Birmingham churches were planted by the Association in strategic urban centers. But even in this period of active evangelization, the Association's most successful church work was in centers where it had established schools⁶⁰ and perhaps two-thirds of the A.M.A.'s strongest churches were in such areas.

Many difficulties were encountered as the Association attempted to expand Congregationalism among the Negroes. One problem was the hostility of the larger Negro denominations. A Baptist minister in Marion, Alabama, for example, was very unfriendly to the Congregational church in that town, and was said to be the "most difficult colored man in the state to cope with."⁶¹ The most active opposition among the Negroes to the Congregational churches founded by

⁶⁰History of the American Missionary Association (1891), pp. 91-94, lists twenty-nine Congregational churches under the Association's care of more than one hundred membership. Only one of these, Santee Pilgrim Church in Nebraska among the Indians, was not a freedmen's church in the South. The largest were:

Hampton, Virginia	426	members
Atlanta First Church	352	"
Washington, D.C., Plymouth	271	"
Charleston Plymouth	264	"
Nashville University	259	"
McIntosh, Georgia, Dorchester	256	"
Talladega	224	"

Of these twenty-nine, seventeen were churches near an Association school, six were essentially town churches, and five could be termed rural community churches.

⁶¹George W. Andrews to Strieby, November 14, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

the Association came from the African Methodists. In Arkansas an Association missionary proudly announced the growth of his school at Pine Bluff "in spite of the opposition set in motion by Bishop Brown and his vassals."⁶² In the late 1870's the A.M.E.'s actually spoke of a threat of Congregationalism to their position. The danger they saw to themselves was not from numbers,⁶³ but from the "quality" and the activity of the Negro Congregationalists.⁶⁴ Negro denominations objected especially to the self-righteous attitude that the Association and its churches took regarding the general problem of morality. In Alabama "a great excitement" was stirred up when the statements made by the Association's missionaries at the Atlanta Convention of 1875 concerning the moral depravity of the Negro churches became known.⁶⁵ In reply the African Methodists countered that the "spirit of Phariseeism" exhibited by the Congregationalists surpassed even that found in the New Testament.⁶⁶

⁶²M. W. Martin to Strieby, February 5, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶³There were sixty-seven Congregational churches among the Negroes at the time with a membership of about 4,600.

⁶⁴American Missionary, XXXIV (April, 1880), 101.

⁶⁵A. A. Safford to Stickel, September 16, 1875, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶⁶American Missionary, XXXIV (April, 1880), 101

Sometimes other Negro denominations "imported" troubles into Congregational ranks. With the rapid expansion of the Congregational churches among the Negroes and the general insistence by the Association that one minister serve only one church whenever possible, it was necessary that some pastors of other denominations be called into service. Not all of these ministers were as well educated or as exemplary in their character as might have been desired. When, for example, the Corpus Christi, Texas, church called the Rev. George W. Swann to its pulpit from the A.M.E. Church, he began a pastorate which nearly destroyed the Congregational church in that town. Swann was accused of "adultery with a deacon's wife," but he was able to gain the support of a large enough faction in the church to gain acquittal and to receive an invitation to stay on as minister. This was accomplished, however, by virtue of the vote of a non-church member. A month later, when the charges against Mr. Swann were substantiated, he left the church, but not until he had nearly destroyed the congregation.⁶⁷

Most of the troubles in the Congregational churches, however, came from within its own ranks. With the heavy

⁶⁷J. K. Polk to Strieby, February 29, 1876; George Guilmont to Strieby, March 27, 1876; B. C. Church to Strieby, April 24, 1876. All in the A.M.A. Archives.

temperance emphasis in all the Association's activities in the South,⁶⁸ any clumsy effort to enforce strict morality might seriously impair the health of a local church. The Chattanooga church had such an experience in 1876. The Rev. E. B. Sellers, a young inexperienced minister from the North, was then serving this church. Early in his ministry he came under the influence of Miss Carrie M. Blood, a teacher long in the service to the A.M.A. who was then laboring at the Association's Howard School in Chattanooga. Miss Blood was a strict puritan who did not hesitate to voice her disapproval of those who did not measure up to the standards she drew for their behavior. Mr. Sellers began openly investigating some of her charges against certain members of his congregation with the result that the accused persons charged others with similar "sins." Sellers very soon found himself in deep trouble, and the church became so divided that the factions could scarcely worship together. This situation was calmed in time, but

⁶⁸In both church and school the Association insisted upon a strong anti-liquor and anti-tobacco stand. The Lincoln Temperance Society found eager co-workers in A.M.A. churches and schools. Bands of Hope (local temperance societies) made A.M.A. churches a base from which to build. American Missionary, XXXIII (March, 1879), 80, tells of the influence in this direction of the Chattanooga church. In the 1880's it was said that "Our churches, conferences and associations are practically temperance societies" in themselves. American Missionary, XXXVI (August, 1882), 230; XXXVII (May, 1883), 141; and XLI (July, 1887), 196.

required a special investigation by an outside missionary, a change in minister and the removal of Miss Blood.⁶⁹

The major difficulty which developed within Congregationalism in the South was much more complex and much more lasting in its general effects. This was the problem of race, a dilemma as much in Congregationalism as it was in the nation as a whole. The two Congregational churches which existed in the deep South prior to the Civil War had accommodated themselves to slavery. They both had Negro members, but the colored people worshipped in the balcony in the rear of the sanctuary and were not allowed to hold church offices. The churches which John G. Fee, George Candee and others organized before the war in Kentucky were distinctly anti-slavery in basis. These churches could be considered as Congregational ones in the 1850's and 1860's despite the fact that by 1880 they were "out of fellowship" with the Congregational Church as a whole. Thus before the Civil War a dilemma existed within the various Congregational churches in the South concerning

⁶⁹The Howard School was turned over to the city of Chattanooga at this time. The reason may have been financial, but one motive could have been to rid the area of Miss Blood's services without wounding the pride of the faithful teacher. B. B. Koons to Strieby, April 19, 1876; E. B. Sellers to Strieby, April 19, 1876; Temple Cutler to Strieby, April 20, 1876; G. S. Pope to Strieby, May 4, 1876; E. B. Sellers to Strieby, June 15, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

the proper position of the church toward the racial problem.

During and after the war other churches with Congregational faith and polity were formed, both white and Negro. The Church of the Strangers, now the First Congregational Church of Memphis, was formed soon after the fall of Memphis to the Union forces, and has been a white church during its entire history. While the A.M.A. was moving into church extension activities, two other Congregational churches were begun among Southern whites, in Chattanooga and New Orleans.⁷⁰ These three all white churches were aided in the main, however, by the American Home Missionary Society, the church extension society normally appealed to by Congregational churches.

No particular difficulties developed between the A.M.A. and the A.H.M.S. for several years. The Home Missionary Society never gave aid to groups not already organized and specifically asking help. The A.M.A., on the other hand, actually helped organize many of the churches it nurtured. Furthermore, the Association had moved reluctantly into church extension from Negro education, its first field of labor after the Civil War. As a matter of fact, during the sixties and seventies the activities of the A.H.M.S. had

⁷⁰American Missionary, X (November, 1866), 255; XV (November, 1871), 252-53.

not been successful in the ex-slave areas save in Missouri.⁷¹ The Chattanooga church among the whites in that town soon failed, and the Memphis and New Orleans⁷² churches were taken under the care of the A.M.A. by 1872. In 1876 when a group of white persons in Jacksonville, Florida, wished to organize a Congregational church, the Association was called in to help organize it.⁷³ Through the period of Reconstruction, it seemed as though Congregationalism might take a consistent stand in favor of an integrated church. In the 1880's, however, the dilemma of the Southern race problem arose again to trouble the "great anti-slavery church"—the Congregationalists.

In 1882 a group of people in Atlanta, most of them of Northern background, applied for aid to begin the Piedmont Congregational Church.⁷⁴ Unlike the group in Jacksonville, Florida, six years before, the Atlanta group applied for aid not to the A.M.A. which had the care of all the churches in the area, but to the American Home Missionary Society. Although this was the normal procedure for Congregationalists seeking aid in establishing churches in most of the

⁷¹Ibid., XII (January, 1868), 11, 18.

⁷²This church is continued today in Central Congregational Church, New Orleans, a predominantly Negro church.

⁷³American Missionary, XX (March, 1876), 56.

⁷⁴Now Central Congregational Church, Atlanta.

country, it was perhaps a bit out of place in the South. The Home Missionary Society responded favorably to their requests for aid. In response to this action President E. A. Ware of Atlanta University and others petitioned the Annual Meeting of the A.M.A. to appoint a committee to confer with the A.H.M.S. concerning the proper policy for both societies to follow in aiding Congregational churches in the South.⁷⁵ These events touched off a lively controversy within American Congregationalism known as "the Color-line Debate."

This debate flared in the religious press for nearly two years. Supporters of the A.H.M.S. could not understand why the South should be considered any differently than any other area of the country. They claimed that many a white person in the South, some of northern birth, could not risk the social ostracism which would result from membership in existing Congregational churches. Yet these persons desired churches where a progressive theology was followed and a congregational polity practiced.⁷⁶ The

⁷⁵American Missionary, XXXVI (December, 1882), 384-85.

⁷⁶Ibid., XXXVIII (September, 1883), 272-73. There were many who argued effectively in favor of a segregated church as the only means for expanding Congregationalism in the South. One of the Association's missionaries insisted that "if we desire to secure a foothold for Congregationalism among the respected white people in the South . . . we must adopt the policy" of having churches composed "predominantly, if not exclusively, of white people."

A.M.A. contended, on the other hand, that any widespread activity of the A.H.M.S. in the South would inevitably lead to the development of segregated Congregational churches in the South. With some discernment the Association's leadership saw that two Congregational church extension societies operating in the South would have to divide their labors somewhere, and the inevitable division would be along the color-line. Professor C. G. Fairchild, son of Berea's president, pleaded for a continuation of the existing bi-racial policy for southern Congregationalism. "Natural race lines of cleavage" did largely dominate life in the South, he admitted, "but it lies within the realm of reasonable expectancy . . . to believe that the time will come when color will not be thought of in the admission of a person to any hotel, railway car, school or church." The Congregational churches had no right, he thought, "to let go this Christian and patriotic hope."⁷⁷

In December, 1883, a Committee of Ten representing both societies⁷⁸ met in Springfield, Massachusetts, to work

⁷⁷American Missionary, XXXVII (September, 1883), 225. This whole issue of the September, 1883, American Missionary is devoted to this "Color-line Debate," and carried quotations from the Independent, Advance, the Congregationalist and resolutions from various conferences and associations in American Congregationalism.

⁷⁸This committee was composed of the Rev. J. L. Withrow, Rev. Washington Gladden, Rev. D. O. Mears and President S. C. Bartlett (of Dartmouth) for the A.M.A.; and Rev.

out an agreement concerning this problem of church extension in the South. When it was suggested to the Association that it might give up its church work and confine itself to the education of the Negro, the position which the A.M.A. itself had taken prior to 1870, it held tenaciously to its newly found evangelical mission, claiming that the church and school could not be separated. The American Home Missionary Society, for its part, felt it could not turn a deaf ear to the appeals from the South, although it had more appeals from the West than it could answer. Furthermore, the Society claimed, if it aided churches in the South it would not be helping to establish a segregation pattern, for it would not aid churches unless they first agreed to admit Negroes to its membership.⁷⁹ Eventually the Committee of Ten unanimously adopted a compromise statement recognizing the rights of each society in the South, and agreeing that "neither society shall establish churches in localities occupied by the other

J. E. Twitchell, Rev. Lyman Abbott, Rev. George L. Walker, A. S. Barnes and S. B. Capen for the American Home Missionary Society. Both Lyman Abbott and A. S. Barnes of the A.H.M.S. "delegation" were on the Executive Committee of the A.M.A. Dr. George L. Walker was the most outspoken of the proponents for a segregated church in the South.

⁷⁹American Missionary, XXXVII (September, 1883), 271-72.

without mutual conference and agreement."⁸⁰ In June of 1884 a committee made up of twelve men from the A.H.M.S. and ten from the A.M.A. met in Boston⁸¹ to discuss certain specific problems that had developed up to that time. Despite these conferences, because of the non-authoritarian nature of their decisions, the problem remained unsolved.⁸²

Segregated Congregationalism appeared first in

⁸⁰History of the A.M.A. (1891), p. 57; American Missionary, XXXVIII (January, 1884), 2-3. In practice this policy solved nothing. Mutual consultation had been suggested by the Executive Committee of the A.M.A. as early as November of 1882, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the American Missionary Association, November 28, 1882, p. 159.

⁸¹The representatives for the A.H.M.S. were John Wiley, William A. Smith, Albert Woodruff, Thomas W. Wittemore, George P. Sheldon, James G. Rogers, Samuel H. Virgin and James W. Hubbell plus Secretaries David B. Coe, Walter M. Barrows and Joseph B. Clark and Treasurer Alexander H. Clapp. The A.M.A. was represented by Lyman Abbott, William H. Ward, J. R. Danforth, S. B. Halliday, S. S. Marples, A. P. Foster, S. H. Virgin and Samuel Holmes besides Secretaries M. E. Strieby and James Powell. This meeting was held in the A.H.M.S. rooms in the Bible House in Boston on June 28, 1884. Mr. Ward of the A.M.A. acted as chairman and Mr. Hubbell of the A.H.M.S. as secretary. Minutes of the Executive Committee, July 14, 1884, pp. 284-290.

⁸²Minutes of the Executive Committee, July 14, 1884, p. 235. There were three specific points of tension and a decision was reached on each of them. At Veneta [state?], the A.M.A. took over an A.H.M.S. church. The contemplated church in Dallas, Texas, was taken under the care of the A.H.M.S. "if the church will consent," and the "new church" in Atlanta was to be taken over by the A.M.A. "if the church will consent." The Dallas church never proved a successful venture, and it is doubtful that the Atlanta church ever consented, thus making the agreement a dead letter.

Georgia, and by 1889 the pattern had become clear enough for all to see. The organization of Central Congregational Church in Atlanta began the "color-line debate" in 1882. And on February 29, 1888, forty-one Congregational Methodist churches from middle and south Georgia⁸³ united with Central Church, Atlanta, to form the all-white United Congregational Conference of Georgia. This created an ecclesiastical organization parallel to the Georgia Congregational Association which contained the dozen Congregational churches operated under the care of the A.M.A. Because of the predominantly Negro membership of the Georgia Congregational Association the United Conference refused to amalgamate with it and ignored repeated overtures that it do so.⁸⁴ Despite the peaceful operation of

⁸³The Congregational Methodist Church had been formed in 1852 in middle Georgia and had spread into Alabama, Mississippi and elsewhere. It represented, like the O'Kellyite movement some years before in Virginia, a protest against an arbitrary episcopacy in the Methodist church. Frank E. Jenkins, Anglo-Saxon Congregationalism in the South (Atlanta, 1901), pp. 89-91.

⁸⁴The General Congregational Conference offered to 1) admit the churches of the United Conference to the Georgia Conference rolls, 2) dissolve itself if it could be assured that its churches were welcome in the United Conference, or 3) dissolve itself and form a new conference of Congregational churches with the United Conference cooperating. American Missionary, XLII (1889), 132. Until 1890 there was some hope that segregated conferences might be avoided in Georgia, but instead the pattern has spread throughout the Congregational churches in the South. See History of the A.M.A. (1891), p. 57.

Negro and white churches in Congregational associations in Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and Louisiana,⁸⁵ the Georgia schism was continued and gradually accepted by the denomination as a whole. In 1889 the American Home Missionary Society found the United Conference in "accord with the principles of Congregationalism."⁸⁶ The denominational press, however, was divided on the question.⁸⁷ The National Council meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1889 confirmed segregated Congregationalism when it accepted the delegates of the United Conference of Georgia as honorary members of the Council.⁸⁸ Thus Congregationalism, like the country as a whole, began accommodating itself to the Southern attitude on race, and "Jim Crow" was at home in the "pure church" by 1890.

Despite the herculean efforts of Congregationalists for the Negro in the South, especially in education, Congregational churches never became a very important part

⁸⁵ American Missionary, XL (November, 1889), 310.

⁸⁶ Ibid., XLIII (July, 1889), 181.

⁸⁷ The Independent and Congregationalist accepted the United Conference, the Advance opposed it. American Missionary, XL (June, 1889), 182. See also Arlin Turner, George W. Cable, a Biography (Durham, 1956), p. 258.

⁸⁸ All the representatives of the southern Negro associations were enrolled as delegates to this council including those of the Georgia Congregational Conference. American Missionary, XLIII (November, 1889), 301-302.

of the total Negro church picture. In 1904 only four percent of the Negro church members were outside the Baptist and Methodist churches,⁸⁹ and of this paltry portion Congregational churches lagged behind the Catholics, Presbyterians and Disciples.⁹⁰ Why was the harvest so meagre? Why had not Congregationalism grown among the Southern Negroes?

It should be said first of all that the Association attempted to do too much. Had it been content with gathering membership to its churches, it might have succeeded better, at least statistically. But it tried to attack a "vast wilderness of ignorance and sin" in an area

⁸⁹Negro Education; a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Washington, 1917), p. 129.

⁹⁰1890 4 Presbyterian bodies ca. 30,000 membership
 Catholics 14,517
 Disciples 18,578
 Congregational 5,908
 Episcopal 2,977
 W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro Church (Atlanta, 1904), p. 38.

1936 Catholic 137,684
 Church of God 68,648
 Episcopalians 29,738
 Disciples 21,950
 Congregationalists 20,437
 Presbyterians 13,963

World Almanac (New York, 1944), p. 762, statistics for Negro churches in the whole nation.

In 1943 the Congregational Year Book listed only sixty-six Negro Congregational churches with 6,516 members in the South. Fred L. Brownlee, New Day Ascending (Boston, 1946), p. 221.

"scarcely entered by the light of a Christian civilization."⁹¹ It took as its task the elevation of a race through education, temperance reform, Puritan morality and an "enlightened faith and polity." Too often the Negro would listen with respect to the appeals of the Association's missionaries that he lead a new life only to remain in his traditional paths of behavior and in his old churches.⁹² When the "Yankee Church" insisted upon trying to reach the Negro with Yankee methods of unemotional worship and rational preaching, the audience that would listen to such an alien gospel was small.⁹³ Some did listen and these, in general, were the more liberal and the better educated Negroes.⁹⁴ When the Congregational

⁹¹ This was a statement made by the Rev. George W. Andrews, head of the Department of Theology at Talladega for a generation, in Augustus F. Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood, a History of the American Missionary Association (Boston, 1909), p. 200.

⁹² See Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction (Chapel Hill, 1932), pp. 378-79.

⁹³ The pastor of the rural church in Dudley, North Carolina, read many of Henry Ward Beecher's sermons to his congregation. He reported that they sat with open mouths. American Missionary, XIV (March, 1870), 52.

⁹⁴ Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, 1945), pp. 255-56; see also W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro Church, pp. 149-50 which refers to a study made by the Rev. W. N. DeBerry of Springfield, Massachusetts, on the characteristics of Negro Congregationalists.

Church took its equivocating stand on the race issue during the 1880's, it was this liberal group which was the first to despair of all organized religion. If even the "pure" Congregational Church, the great friend of Negro education, surrendered to Southern prejudices, what hope was there for any organized church?

The Negro Congregational churches in the South grew little after 1890. They were able to maintain most of the strength they had gained until after World War I. But the withdrawal of the large subsidies the Association had been giving them coupled with a lack of denominational loyalty, a condition general among Congregationalists, led to a decline of over one-third in membership by 1943.⁹⁵ Today the Negro Congregational churches in the South are quietly active in the great race drama being enacted, but, so far at least, they have not provided any of the outstanding leadership.

⁹⁵Brownlee, New Day Ascending, p. 221.

CHAPTER V

THE ASSOCIATION AND THE FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS

The most important efforts of the American Missionary Association for the freedmen in the South were in the field of education. Although the Association found its pedagogical role rather accidentally, the work once entered upon was carried out both extensively and consistently. Actually the A.M.A. proved to be one of the most faithful supporters of Negro education during the late nineteenth century.

The A.M.A. was originally chartered as a missionary association—the term "education" was not even placed in its charter until 1869.¹ Its first activities had been in evangelical mission fields, both home and foreign. Because of its clear anti-slavery foundations, the coming of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation opened a new field to the Association. At that time perhaps no other society was as well prepared as the A.M.A. to meet the

¹Michael E. Strieby, The American Missionary Association: Its Place and Work. Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association at Chicago, Illinois, October 30, 1889 (New York, 1889), p. 1.

gigantic problem of the "care and elevation" of the ex-slave.² Its administration was widely respected; its revenues were sizeable and growing. Many, in fact, came to believe that the years of slave-free mission activity had merely served to prepare the Association for the "providential" mission presented by emancipation.

And what was the best way to meet the demand for the elevation of the freedmen? Relief? Land? Religion? In harmony with much of the sentiment of the day, the A.M.A. gradually came to the conclusion that education was the best means to help the Negro improve himself. In its very first activity among the "contrabands" at Fort Monroe, however, the Association had concentrated upon a mission work of a religious nature. Mr. Lockwood, the Association's first missionary to the Southern Negroes, was a minister, not a teacher. The fact that schools were established soon after his arrival is due to the remarkable group with whom he labored. Mary Peake, the teacher of the first freedmen's school, was not sent by the Association, but was appointed by the group itself to do a necessary job. Eventually she did receive a small salary from the Association for her

²Julius H. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1861-1871," Negro Education: a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (Washington, 1917), I, 275.

work, but not until several months after she began teaching.³

During the course of the war the A.M.A., in common with the various freedmen's aid societies, came to the conclusion that education was the most effective and lasting means of elevating the freedmen.⁴ Relief proved but a transient means of freedmen's aid and for a time even

³American Missionary, V (November, 1861), 288. Mrs. Peake wrote her thanks at this time to the Association which had sent her \$17.89 through Mr. Lockwood.

⁴The New England Freedmen's Aid Society and the National Freedmen's Relief Commission sent most of their first missionaries in March of 1862 to supervise the harvesting of cotton. There seems to be some evidence that much of the impulse that led to the support of the A.F.U.C. enterprises was economic. For example, Edward Atkinson, clearly a champion of freedmen's education for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the Southern cotton growers, was one of the chief supporters of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. But economic motives, though present, do not seem to have been the impelling motive behind the opening of the Association's work. The ordinary missionary, evangelical urge seems to have been the primary one. True, the Association did enter into land schemes at a later date, but neither it nor its friends received any profit from these plans. There were numerous instances of Association missionaries who saw great promise for Yankee capital in the South, but there were few who chose to leave their posts to follow these dreams of economic grandeur. Some did, as Mr. Wilder and Mr. Coan who saw in Jacksonville, Florida, a place for economic profit, but few others followed them. At the Association's annual meeting in 1867 President Kirk delivered an address entitled "Capital and Labor," but even this speech will prove a disappointment to the economic historian. It pleaded for the necessity of education justifying it on economic grounds—the increased productivity of educated labor. American Missionary, XI (December, 1867), 265-67.

The principal friends of the Association were orthodox Republicans and industrial leaders, yet in 1870 there was a

the evangelical mission of the Association in religious work was lost in the universal zeal favoring the elevation of the freedmen through education. Perhaps it was well for the Negro that this was the case, for the role of the Association in the development of institutions for the Negroes' education has been a vital one.

The A.M.A., allied with the various secular freedmen's aid societies, entered with great enthusiasm into the crusade for the elevation of the freedmen through education. Because few of the Negroes had received any education whatsoever, the general program initially followed was one of supporting common schools taught by Northern teachers.⁵ Thousands of "Yankee Schoolmarms" were sent to battle for the souls and the loyalties of the four million newly emancipated and enfranchised Negroes.⁶ In the years

sympathetic relationship between the A.M.A. and the National Labor Union. The Rev. Sella Martin, who was attending the National Labor Convention, was able to get a statement of thanks to the A.M.A. for its work among the colored people written into the "Preamble and Resolutions" of the Convention. American Missionary, XIV (February, 1870), p. 39.

⁵For an inclusive account of the Northern teacher in the South, see Henry L. Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870 (Nashville, 1941).

⁶The correspondence of the A.M.A. makes it very clear that there was never a shortage of applications for the job of teaching Negro schools in the South. The martial spirit was still high during the sixties, and many women felt that their turn had come to help the "poor former slaves." For example, the opening of a school in Andersonville, Georgia,

between 1861 and 1869 the Association alone supported 2,638 teachers in the South. The peak years of the A.M.A.'s common school effort were 1867 and 1868 when over five hundred missionaries and teachers were sustained in the Southern field. In these years some two thousand teachers were supported annually by all the benevolent societies in the North, and of these over seven hundred were sent by the various freedmen's aid societies of the American Freedmen's Union Commission.⁷

The Association in this early period established schools in every place of need it could possibly reach. Even Sunday schools became reading schools where pupils

was the great challenge to two young lady missionaries of the Association soon after the war. 22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 25. The principal problem encountered by the Association was that of financing the meager salary and expenses for these missionaries. One of the principal qualifications for sending a young lady to teach in the South became whether or not she or her friends could pay her way. There are numerous letters in the A.M.A. Archives in the years 1865 and 1866 showing this. For example, in Shipherd to Strieby, March 30, 1866, a Mary C. Cushing offered to teach for board and room, and her letter was accompanied with good recommendations. It must be said, however, that the Association established high requirements for its teachers. Besides holding "credentials of Christian standing in some evangelical church," teachers were supposed to be fully trained. Experience, too, was expected. The teachers selected, however, were not of a uniformly high caliber. Oliver S. Heckman, Northern Church Penetration of the South, 1860-1880 (Durham, 1939), pp. 154-55.

⁷Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, p. 275.

learned to read the word of God. Temporary schools were established in army "barracks and ware rooms," in confiscated Confederate buildings, in abandoned plantations and in many colored churches.⁸ During the year 1867 the Association operated nearly four hundred of these schools where the rudiments of reading and counting were imparted to young and old alike. In the day schools the pupils were youths; in the night and Sabbath schools persons of all ages sat together to receive the instruction.

The missionaries worked long hard hours teaching some four hours each morning in the day school and from two to three hours in the night school. On Sundays they often instructed the same pupils in the reading of their Bible lessons. Some men instructors served as ministers on Sunday, so blending the church and school that the relationship between religion and life would be taught in an unmistakable way. The women missionaries attended the several prayer meetings held during the week besides conducting a wide home visitation among the women in the Negro community to ascertain the proper recipients for the large relief supplies it became their office to distribute.⁹

⁸Augustus F. Beard, Crusade of Brotherhood, A History of the American Missionary Association (Boston, 1909), p. 145. The claims of the number of Association schools established during this period run as high as 500. Probably all the day, night and Sunday schools are included in this figure.

⁹Heckman, Northern Church Penetration of the South, pp. 160-61.

Initially the Association entered its work in the mild hope¹⁰ that its labors would be bi-racial, but only one Association school, Berea College, admitted students of both races in nearly equal numbers. It was true that white children of the local faculty attended each of the schools founded, as did a few white children from the community who were attracted to the schools by the general excellence of the instruction. But by 1869 it had become apparent to the Association that, despite a determination to offer an education "without respect to color," the schools being established were to be Negro ones. A missionary from Georgia commented in 1869 that it was impossible to persuade white children to come to the Association's schools. They had in attendance, she claimed, about five hundred Negro and two white children. Southerners were determined that "there shall be no mixing" despite the fact that a similar education might cost some fifty dollars a year in tuition alone in some exclusively white school.¹¹

¹⁰ Nothing in the Association's missionary propaganda at this time serves to indicate anything more than a concern for the elevation of the four million freedmen. However, each of the institutions founded by the Association were established for all youths who were properly prepared for the level of instruction offered "despite race or previous condition."

¹¹ American Missionary, XIII (August, 1869), 175.

Very early in the period during which the Association devoted its main energies to freedmen's education, the officers of the Association began to see that methods other than the one of supporting common schools taught by Northern teachers might be both more lasting and more effective. The educational program originally followed which provided extensive elementary education for the freedmen under Yankee teachers had sprung up quite spontaneously after the war. Like the freedmen's relief program it ministered to a specific need—that of making literate a body of voters recently emancipated. But such a program proved very expensive, and the giant sea of ignorance seemed hardly penetrated despite several years of herculean labors. The Northern teachers required transportation to their homes and back each year; homes had to be maintained for these teachers in the South because Southern society would not accept them. The Association soon began to feel that a more economical way to elevate the intellectual condition of the ex-slave would be to establish permanent institutions to train Negro teachers in order that they might instruct the members of their own race. It seems, in fact, that this idea was discussed by the officers of the Association before those responsible for the Freedmen's Bureau began to talk of it.

As early as January of 1866 the officers of the

Association began laying plans for the building of permanent educational institutions for the training of Negro teachers.¹² On May 31, 1866, the officers and a few friends of the Association met in Boston to outline the educational strategy later followed by the Association and anticipating by several months a similar policy followed by the Bureau. This group contended that it was a matter of "the highest importance" that "self sustaining" normal schools should be organized as soon as possible.¹³ Although several strategic urban centers in the West were mentioned as possible centers for the Association's permanent normal institutions, the attention of those interested in such an institution in the east was centered on the "classical

¹²As indicated above the principal motive at first seems to have been one of instituting some economies in the total educational program. The reason given for this development by previous historians of the Association has been that in the late 1860's the Ku Klux Klan attacks forced the Association's leaders to see the flimsiness of their common school structure, and that only then did they move into the permanent school pattern. There seems little evidence in the Association's correspondence that this was the case. Cravath to Strieby, January 24, 1866; John C. Holbrook to "Secretaries of the A.M.A., March 14, 1866, A.M.A. Archives. American Missionary Association, History of Forty Years of Missionary Labor, 1846-1886 (New York, 1886), p. 8.

¹³American Missionary, X (August, 1866), 190. The appeal was signed by President Kirk and Secretaries Whipple and Strieby.

ground" of the Association at Hampton, Virginia.¹⁴ The idea of normal school here was discussed by the officers of the A.M.A. several months before General Samuel C. Armstrong wrote them concerning his dreams for Hampton.

In May, 1866, General Armstrong, then Sub-assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Southeast Virginia, wrote the field superintendent of the Association complimenting him and the A.M.A. for the fine schools being maintained in the Hampton area, and suggested that a normal school to prepare colored teachers was needed there. His argument in favor of the enterprise was in complete harmony with the thinking of the Association. Armstrong noted that the colored teachers prepared in such an institution "will cost much less" than white teachers who require transportation. Hampton was the "natural educational centre of the colored people along the coast," he insisted, and the Association was indeed "fortunate in getting it."¹⁵ Soon after this the A.M.A.'s first major effort for the establishment of a permanent school among the freedmen was concentrated at Hampton where the enthusiastic support of

¹⁴Cravath to Whipple, October 1, 1866, A.M.A. Archives, mentions as strategic centers for Association schools Louisville, Nashville, Memphis, Atlanta and Macon. See also Holbrook to Secretaries of the A.M.A., March 14, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

¹⁵Armstrong to Samuel Hunt, May 15, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

the Freedmen's Bureau seemed assured.

Hampton was not decided upon as the area for the first normal school effort without some disagreement. Field Secretary E. P. Smith favored Charleston where Francis L. Cardozo was laying the foundations for Avery Institute.¹⁶ An Association missionary in North Carolina wrote in the spring of 1866 that he thought Wilmington was the proper location for the institution,¹⁷ and General Orlando Brown, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau for Virginia, felt that Richmond, "on the lovely York," was the strategic center for the school.¹⁸ Most of the officers of the Association, however, supported General Armstrong's choice of Hampton,¹⁹ and by mid-fall, 1866, consultations

¹⁶Hunt to Whipple, October 22, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

¹⁷American Missionary, X (April, 1866), 84, a letter from S. S. Ashley.

¹⁸Brown to Howard, January 22, 1867; Armstrong to Smith, July 17, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

¹⁹Besides General Armstrong, Superintendent Sam Hunt favored Hampton. Miss H. M. Hogeboom, the Association's champion in New Haven, considered the "Hampton scheme" her "pet project." She was the person largely responsible for the meeting in New Haven in October of 1866 at which both General Howard and General Armstrong spoke in favor of the Hampton normal school project. General Howard was somewhat interested in this project, but the Commissioner's real enthusiasm was saved for the institution to be begun in Washington. The first meetings looking toward the founding of Howard University were held in November, 1866.

were begun between the officers of the Bureau and the Association.²⁰ Although it has been generally contended that the Bureau gave direction to the educational activities among the freedmen, it seems that the initial impulse for the establishment of the normal school at Hampton came from one of the benevolent societies.²¹

By January, 1867, plans were matured for the development of the normal school at Hampton.²² In general the reaction to the idea of permanent normal schools was most sympathetic. The Superintendent of the Association's schools at Savannah felt that there were many who would like to "invest in such an enterprise." Francis L. Cardozo in Charleston was "glad to see the subject being discussed," and the Association's experienced superintendent in Norfolk, Henry Clay Percy, later on the Hampton Board of Trustees, saw the proposed project as the "only rational method" for the "successful elevation" of the freedmen.²³

²⁰ Suzanne C. Carson, Samuel Chapman Armstrong; Missionary to the South (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins, 1952), pp. 149-51.

²¹ Paul S. Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau; A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction (Iowa City, 1904), p. 78, claims Bureau direction for the policy which led to the establishment of at least one normal school for Negroes in each southern state by October, 1869. Pierce does admit that these schools were "largely the product of private benevolence." Carson, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, p. 168, notes that by September, 1867, Armstrong had received two thousand dollars and two good buildings from the Bureau for Hampton.

²² American Missionary, XI (January, 1867), 11-12.

²³ Ibid., XI (March, 1867), 58.

Only Secretary Shipherd of the Chicago office seems to have had some reservations concerning the practicality of this normal school idea. Because of the already strained conditions of the Association's treasury, Shipherd felt that the schools could wait since the teachers had yet to be paid. Either this policy was to be followed, he said, or the A.M.A. should simply "announce the insolvency of the concern."²⁴

Although the idea of normal schools was generally accepted, there was wide disagreement on the specific way that the normal schools should be administered. Field Superintendent Samuel Hunt naively felt that manual training would "diminish the cost" of the education. The main benefit to the Negroes, he felt, would come from the influence of "refined Christian ladies" who would provide the influence of a Christian home for the colored children.²⁵ Fortunately the local administration of these normal schools was left largely to the principals, presidents and deans of the various institutions, and many of them—Samuel C. Armstrong at Hampton, Edmund A. Ware at Atlanta, Adam K. Spence at Fisk and Henry S. DeForest at Talladega—proved to be men of outstanding ability and broad vision.

²⁴ Shipherd to Whipple, April 1, 1867, A.M.A. Archives.

²⁵ Hunt to Miss H. M. Hogeboom, November 30, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

Once the permanent normal school idea was adopted, the Association quickly threw its effective support behind several institutions in various parts of the South. By 1872 seven of them had been founded in strategic points. The A.M.A. readily admitted that sometimes the locations were apparently decided upon by "accidental circumstances," but their spacing was so strategic that some felt it to have been "providential."²⁶

Berea College in Madison County, Kentucky, was the only one of the colleges fostered by the Association not founded largely for the benefit of the freedmen. It was begun by A.M.A. missionaries in 1855, closed by violence soon after John Brown's raid because of its anti-slavery sentiments, and reopened after the war by such A.M.A. stalwarts as John G. Fee and J. A. R. Rogers. The first important financial aid was given Berea by the Freedmen's Bureau in the years after 1867 when seven thousand dollars was granted for its first permanent building. The American Missionary Association never held title to any of Berea's property, though it supported its teachers and gave full support to the college in its quest for income and wealthy friends. Berea's first college class was organized in the same year that E. Henry Fairchild came as president, in

²⁶American Missionary, XVII (August, 1873), 183.

1869, and by 1873 Berea had found its permanent place as the "Oberlin of the South" where some 250 students, both Negro and white in nearly equal numbers, were given excellent classical instruction. In 1873 the four-story Ladies Hall was completed, a building so large that it was a "wonder" in that part of Kentucky.²⁷

Hampton, built on the ground where the A.M.A. began its first common school, had already developed its unique character by the early 1870's. The school had been opened in 1868 as the American Missionary Association Normal School in full cooperation with the Freedmen's Bureau. General Samuel C. Armstrong, the local Bureau agent and the first principal of Hampton, quickly gave his indelible stamp to the school's activities. Early he proved that he was to be the chief director of the school despite the close interest in the Hampton project by the Association's officers. For all practical purposes, General Armstrong took over the personal direction of the school after 1869, although the A.M.A. retained title to Hampton's property

²⁷ American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association; its Churches and Educational Institutions Among the Freedmen, Indians, and Chinese, with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1874), pp. 22-24.

for some time thereafter.²⁸ In June, 1870, fifteen men were incorporated as Trustees of the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute.²⁹ The Association would not transfer

²⁸In 1869 a committee made up of President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, James A. Garfield, B. G. Northrop, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Connecticut, Alexander Hyde of Massachusetts, Field Secretary Smith of the A.M.A. and Corresponding Secretary Strieby met with General Armstrong to study his repeated requests for permanent buildings. The nearby Chesapeake Female Academy located on property adjoining "Wood Farm" where Hampton was located was then for sale, and was the obvious building to secure for the needed expansion. Armstrong, however, felt strongly that a building should be built on the property already held. Both Hopkins and Garfield, largely out of friendship, sustained Armstrong, and the Association's officers felt constrained to consent. This story as told by Strieby is found in Mayo, Common School Education in the United States (Washington, 1905), pp. 487-88.

As early as February, 1867, a year before the school began operation, Armstrong suggested incorporating Hampton under the laws of Virginia with its own board of trustees. See Armstrong to "My dear sir," February 2, 1867, A.M.A. Archives. When it became apparent to the General that Hampton might secure part of the benefit of the land scrip assigned to Virginia by the Morrill Act of 1862, he began pushing even harder for a separate charter for Hampton independent of A.M.A. control. By this time, however, his desire for independence may have been personal as well. Armstrong to Whipple, December 21, 1869, A.M.A. Archives.

²⁹Seven of the original fifteen Hampton trustees, not including General Armstrong, were A.M.A. officers or missionaries. The incorporation was gained on June 4, 1870, after a bitter struggle in the Virginia legislature. The legislature wanted to incorporate Hampton as a school exclusively for Negroes, but both Armstrong and the Association insisted upon its incorporation to serve students "regardless of color." This point was won. Senator William P. Austin to Whipple, March 30, 1870, A.M.A. Archives. Thanks to pressure exerted by Garfield and other friends of Armstrong, Virginia finally assented to Armstrong's wishes.

title of the property to the Hampton trustees until the trustees had first secured \$30,000 to assure the future stability of the institution. Armstrong, impatient of all restraint, opposed this "encouragement" with some temper,³⁰ but in two years he had raised nearly \$100,000 for the school.³¹ By 1874, \$95,000 in land scrip had been assigned to Hampton by the State of Virginia and the mammoth Virginia Hall completed. Thus under General Armstrong's leadership Hampton was securely established before the mid-seventies.³²

Fisk University was opened in an army barracks in Nashville in 1866. A year later it was chartered by the State of Tennessee and the first normal school was organized. Temporary government buildings served the school until Jubilee Hall, begun in 1873, was completed. The funds for this imposing building were raised by a troupe of Fisk students, the Jubilee Singers, who toured the United States, England and various countries in Western Europe in the years from 1871 to 1884. A secretary of the

³⁰Armstrong to Garfield, December 10, 1870, Garfield Papers, Library of Congress.

³¹Thomas K. Fessenden to Whipple, November 15, 1872, A.M.A. Archives. The total receipts of this campaign from November 15, 1870 to November 15, 1872 were \$93,218.96.

³²History of the A.M.A. (1874), pp. 24-27.

Association acted as business agent to the singers attending to the details of administration. Ties between the Association and the University were further strengthened in 1876 when Field Secretary Cravath became Fisk's first president.³³ Adam K. Spence came to Fisk in 1870 as dean and professor of languages. More than any other leader in the Association's colleges, Spence insisted upon a position of equality for the Negro in American life. He could see no progress for the Negro unless unquestionably superior leadership was developed. He firmly believed that advancement of the race would come from the top down through higher education, not from the bottom up through public education. His dynamic personality permeated the Fisk campus for over a generation, and before the end of Reconstruction, Fisk had established itself as an institution where the Negro might obtain an education based upon the same principles applied in higher education in Northern colleges.³⁴

Atlanta University, whose charter was secured by the A.M.A. for a board of independent trustees in 1867,³⁵

³³Ibid., pp. 26-28.

³⁴Interviews with Arna Bontemps, Librarian of Fisk, and Henry L. Swint, Professor of History at Vanderbilt, in June of 1956.

³⁵Seven of the ten original members of Atlanta's board were officers or missionaries of the American Missionary Association. Myron W. Adams, A History of Atlanta University (Atlanta, 1930), p. 6.

opened its doors in 1869 with excellent equipment. By 1871 two brick buildings together costing some fifty thousand dollars sat atop "Diamond Hill." Because of the confidence which the State of Georgia had in Rev. Edmund Asa Ware, the very able president of the University, the state began appropriating, in 1871, to Atlanta University the Negro's share of Georgia's land scrip coming from the Morrill Act. Between 1871 and 1887 a total of \$116,000 was appropriated, but it in no way lessened the influence of the Association and its Northern friends over the destiny of the University.³⁶

Talladega College, located inside the "Great Triangle" of Northern capital development formed by Birmingham, Atlanta and Chattanooga, was in possession of fine college property by 1874. Three handsome buildings sat on an attractive campus, but Talladega was to wait until 1879 when Henry Swift DeForest came as president before it received able leadership.³⁷ Although incorporated as a college in 1869, no collegiate courses were offered until 1890, and the class of 1895 was the first granted the bachelor's degree. However, during the 1870's Talladega turned out a large number of graduates trained in her

³⁶A.M.A., History of the A.M.A. (1874), pp. 28-31. See also Adams, History of Atlanta University.

³⁷A.M.A., History of the A.M.A. (1874), pp. 33-35.

elementary, normal and theological departments.³⁸

Like Talladega, Tougaloo College in Mississippi struggled desperately to stay alive during the late nineteenth century. Begun in 1869 on a five hundred acre plantation seven miles north of Jackson, Mississippi, Tougaloo was still largely undeveloped by the mid-seventies despite the labors of the Association and an annual appropriation of three thousand dollars by the State of Mississippi begun in 1872.³⁹

Of the Association's chartered institutions begun during Reconstruction, only Straight University in New Orleans was located west of the Mississippi. This school was opened in the same year in which it was incorporated, 1869, and boasted 413 students in its primary, intermediate, grammar, normal, academic and theological departments.⁴⁰ Soon thereafter a unique law school was begun which served both Negro and white students. Young men were admitted to the Louisiana bar without examination after they had been

³⁸Catalogue and Announcements of Talladega College (March, 1956), p. 7.

³⁹This appropriation came as a result of the Morrill Act. In 1874 Mississippi made a conditional grant of fifteen thousand dollars, and the school's real growth dates from that time. During the nineteenth century, however, it never enjoyed really superior leadership.

⁴⁰A.M.A., History of the A.M.A. (1874), pp. 35-36.

graduated from this school.⁴¹

The Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute became the A.M.A.'s only chartered institution in the Southwest, and the only one successfully launched after Reconstruction. A college for Texas had long been contemplated by the officers and missionaries of the A.M.A., and in 1876 a specific design began to take shape. An eight-acre site was purchased in Austin, but hard times forced the postponement of its opening until 1878. In 1880 an imposing five-story building was erected which provided the school's only accommodations until the late 1880's.⁴²

The growth of institutions sustained by the Association was quite impressive during the decade following the close of the war. Seven chartered institutions had been fostered by 1875 and of these at least four⁴³ were showing signs of future significance. However, many in the North and South sneered at the infant "universities," and even friends of the freedmen questioned the wisdom of erecting costly buildings at Hampton, Berea and Fisk.⁴⁴ For a time

⁴¹American Missionary, XX (August, 1876), 177.

⁴²Ibid., XXXIV (February, 1880), 35.

⁴³Hampton, Berea, Fisk and Atlanta.

⁴⁴Virginia Hall at Hampton had cost eighty thousand dollars, Fairchild Hall at Berea some fifty thousand dollars, and Jubilee Hall at Fisk finally came to something over seventy thousand dollars. Atlanta University had two twenty-five thousand dollar buildings. American Missionary,

the Association's missionaries in the South talked seriously of concentrating all collegiate studies in one institution, and making all the others normal and preparatory schools.⁴⁵ Since the need for teachers was so great this plan could have been applied without seriously impairing any of the institutions. This program was never adopted, however, and the small and wasteful college programs were continued by several of these "universities" during the nineteenth century.⁴⁶

Most of the incorporated institutions maintained large normal departments,⁴⁷ and this portion of their work was by far the most important. Atlanta University, for example, graduated its first normal class in 1873, three years before it granted a college degree, and by 1879 it had graduated

XIX (October, 1875), 220.

⁴⁵In 1874 it was proposed that a one college plan take the place of the three institutions then offering collegiate studies. Tougaloo, Straight and Talladega did not then have a college department, and Hampton never developed one. Another part of the proposal was to concentrate theological studies at the institution where the college would be placed. In 1874 there were four theological schools supported by the Association in the South—a very good one at Howard University, one at Atlanta, at Fisk and at Straight. Talladega had a theological department in 1872 which became a school in 1876.

⁴⁶G. D. Pike to Cravath (December 5, 1874), A.M.A. Archives.

⁴⁷Berea did not have a normal department until the 1890's although it had much normal work. Elizabeth Peck, Berea's First Century (Lexington, 1955), p. 90.

thirty-seven from its normal department and only fifteen from its college.⁴⁸ The non-chartered normal and higher schools, of which the Association had fourteen in 1876, also graduated teachers in large numbers. As early as 1869 at least 314 teachers trained by the Association's schools had been employed in Southern schools,⁴⁹ and by 1873 some 710 teachers had been trained in A.M.A. schools. It was estimated that these former students were teaching 64,000 pupils in 1873.⁵⁰ By the end of Reconstruction, therefore, the Association's educational efforts had become quite important. Some of its colleges possessed imposing physical facilities, its faculties were well trained and included products of Yale, Oberlin and other Northern colleges, and its graduates, most of them teachers, were spread throughout the South ready to supply the colleges with an ever increasing stream of students.

It might have been a blessing if the proposal which looked toward the consolidation of the Association's college activities had been adopted, for the mid-seventies

⁴⁸Atlanta University Catalogue (1887-1888), pp. 7-10; American Missionary, XXXIII (March, 1879), 31.

⁴⁹These teachers were largely from eleven Association schools including among them Lincoln in Memphis (later LeMoyne), Storrs in Atlanta, Emerson in Mobile, Berea, Fisk and Talladega.

⁵⁰American Missionary, XIX (January, 1875), 3.

were years of real financial crisis for the A.M.A. Declining revenues coupled with the death in 1876 of the Senior Secretary, George Whipple, placed considerable strain upon the admirable educational structure then existing. Appropriations were cut drastically so that in 1877 only 134 teachers were sent south to instruct in the eight chartered institutions, eleven graded and normal schools and seven common schools.⁵¹

As if the loss of funds were not enough, the Association at this time spent considerable energy and funds in search of a new mission field which seemed to be opening. In the late 1870's the continent of Africa was dramatically brought to the attention of the world by the explorations of Henry M. Stanley. The Association was swept up in the "African Fever" which resulted, and the officers of the Association thought that they saw a new "Missionary Era" beginning. The "Normal School Era" had closed, they felt, and now destiny had again called the Association as it had in the 1860's. The schools for the American Negro begun by the Association were now seen as tools to prepare colored missionaries to carry the Gospel back to their "native" Africa. Few responded to the call, however, and

⁵¹Ibid., I (December, 1877), p. 7. The eight chartered institutions included the recently founded Tillotson in Austin, Texas, which was not in operation until 1878.

of those who did enough suffered in the loss of health to cause the Association's leaders to conclude by 1880 that they must have read the signs of providence amiss. In the meantime much energy had been wasted in the fruitless quest.⁵²

There were problems enough at the time in the South. The end of Reconstruction had come, and with it a wave of incendiarism which led to the loss of four of the Association's school buildings in 1876 alone.⁵³ Despite rather large Negro migrations into Kansas at this time, the Association felt that its main labor still lay in the South, and that the permanent institutions already established were the best tools for meeting the problems of the Negro. The beginning, experimental years of Reconstruction had passed. By 1875 the "capacity of the Negro to acquire knowledge as readily as the white man" had been established "beyond contradiction." The substantial buildings already erected on the campuses of the Association's chartered institutions were like "beacon lights on the shore" of the

⁵²See especially American Missionary, XXXII (January, 1878), 1.

⁵³These four institutions were Emerson Institute in Mobile, burned for the second time, and later to be burned again; Lewis High School in Macon; Straight University in New Orleans; and Beach Institute in Savannah. All of these schools were rebuilt in 1878, and most of the loss was covered by insurance. American Missionary, XXXII (December, 1878), 353.

"troubled sea" of the Negro's life in the South, inspiring him with the hope that his children could "occupy such buildings."⁵⁴ On the substantial foundations laid during Reconstruction an admirable edifice was built by the Association during the 1880's.

In 1879 a gift of \$150,000 was made by Mrs. Valeria G. Stone of Malden, Massachusetts, to the A.M.A. for the erection of buildings on the campuses of its colleges. Five of the eight chartered institutions sustained by the Association shared in this gift.⁵⁵ The prosperity of the times enabled the Association further to succor schools not aided by the Stone grant and to help erect other badly needed buildings.⁵⁶ By 1883 each one of the Association's

⁵⁴Ibid., XIX (June, 1875), 123-24.

⁵⁵Fisk was enabled to complete the admirable Livingstone Hall with \$50,000 Mrs. Stone's gift gave them. This building served as a boys dormitory, administration and classroom building. Atlanta University built a fine central building used for academic and class rooms and was enabled also to add a wing to its girls dormitory. Straight University built a girls dormitory with its share, \$25,000, and Talladega built a boys dormitory and remodeled old Swayne Hall with its \$25,000. Hampton also received a Stone building, but not from this specific fund. American Missionary, XXXIII (May, 1879), 129-30; XXV (November, 1881), 358-59.

⁵⁶Tillotson took possession of its five-story building in 1881, the only building it was to have for years. Tougaloo was able to build Strieby Hall, a boys dormitory and classroom building, and Berea added \$50,000 to its endowment, American Missionary, XXXV (November, 1881), 358-59; Talladega added Cassidy Hall in 1883, a \$5,000 building for its preparatory department, and Straight

chartered institutions, and a few of its graded schools as well, had adequate physical equipment. Only in Arkansas did the A.M.A. experience any real discouragement during this period. In 1882, after years of planning, a fourteen-acre plot and a charter were secured for Edward Smith College in Little Rock, but this project went no further. No buildings were ever constructed and no instruction was ever offered.⁵⁷ The caution practiced by the Association in this instance is in sharp contrast to the policy of the Association in the late 1860's when college planting was entered into with great boldness. However, with adequate buildings, a recognized permanence and high quality of instruction many Negro youths flocked to the Association's colleges from all over the country.⁵⁸

The lean days of the late seventies taught the Association the necessity of financial independence for its chartered institutions. In 1879 the annual meeting of the Association recognized the need for "adequate provisions for the maintenance of professorships."⁵⁹ The Association

completed Whiting Hall, a fifteen thousand dollar boys dormitory in the same year. American Missionary, XXXVII (November, 1883), 335.

⁵⁷Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1882), 360.

⁵⁸Ibid., XXXIV (December, 1880), 385, 399-400; XXXVII (November, 1883), 334-35; XL (April, 1887), 136.

⁵⁹Ibid., XXXIII (December, 1879), 360.

finally inaugurated a special campaign in 1882 to raise \$500,000 for the endowment of its colleges in the South,⁶⁰ and the presidents of the various institutions were commended to the wide constituency of the Association. A program was definitely begun at this time looking toward the financial independence of the various chartered schools. If the early 1880's were years when the Association's major institutions were provided with adequate buildings, the middle and later eighties were years of growing financial independence for these institutions.⁶¹

The ties of the Association with Hampton and Berea were the first severed. Berea had never operated on property held by the Association, nor had the A.M.A. any more than token representation on Berea's board of trustees. John G. Fee and J. A. E. Rogers, the founders of the college, were in the employ of the Association, and most of Berea's teachers received their pay from the Association. Many friends of the Association proved also to be friends of Berea, and the college was enabled to reach prospective donors through the offices and

⁶⁰Ibid., XXXVI (July, 1882), 99.

⁶¹Ibid., XLII (March, 1888), 57-58, has a note to donors telling them that President Woodworth of Tougaloo and Professor Bumstead of Atlanta were in the North soliciting funds for their respective schools.

encouragement of the A.M.A.⁶² But the A.M.A. from the very beginning had surprisingly little voice in Berea's affairs, and in 1885 Berea was no longer listed as an A.M.A. institution.

At Hampton, however, the early independence of the school from Association control was due primarily to the personality of General Armstrong. The Association held the property at Hampton even after the trustees were incorporated and dominated Hampton's board of trustees for many years. The Senior Corresponding Secretary of the A.M.A. was chairman⁶³ of this board until late in the century. Yet General Armstrong made the institution uniquely his own, and ran it in his own way. Armstrong was not a man to take directions from another. In 1885 Hampton along with Berea was dropped from the Association's list of schools and recognized as fully independent.

It was during the 1880's that the Association began to concentrate its efforts in the development of a few strong collegiate institutions. As previously noted, a plan to concentrate collegiate instruction in a single institution had been discussed in the 1870's. In 1881 a group of twenty-two A.M.A. officers and teachers met at

⁶²Peck, Berea's First Century, pp. 26-28.

⁶³Whipple was chairman until his death in 1876, then Strieby was chosen.

Fisk University in Nashville, to map a general college strategy. General Armstrong of Hampton and President Fairchild of Berea attended "by special invitation," although their schools were even then not "directly associated with the Association."⁶⁴ At this meeting it was decided to concentrate upon the collegiate departments at Atlanta and Fisk. Although it was their hope that "at least one first-class liberal arts college for Negroes" could be maintained in each Southern state,⁶⁵ this action inaugurated the rapid development of these "big two" among the Association's colleges, for both institutions enjoyed excellent leadership at the time, and they soon outstripped the others in the quality of the work done.⁶⁶ Fisk retained

⁶⁴Also attending were::from the central office, Ex-Governor Washburn, President of the A.M.A. Rev. W. H. Ward and C. L. Mead of the Executive Committee, Secretary Strieby and Field Secretary Roy; from Fisk, President Cravath and Professor Spence; from Atlanta, President Ware and Professor Farnham; from Talladega, President DeForest and Professor Andrews; from Straight, President Alexander and Professor Jewett; from Tougaloo, President Pope and Professor Hatch; from the principal graded and normal schools, Professor Wright of Beach Institute, Savannah, Professor Gordon of Avery Institute, Charleston, Professor Steele of LeMoyne in Memphis, Professor Hodge of Lewis High School, Macon, Rev. C. D. Crawford of Emerson Institute, Mobile. American Missionary, XXXVI (February, 1882), 34.

⁶⁵Fred L. Brownlee, "Dillard University Up to 1945," The Dillard Bulletin, X (October, 1945), 1.

⁶⁶American Missionary, XXXVI (February, 1882), 34-35.

its ties with the Association, but Atlanta University, like Hampton and Berea, severed its intimate connection with the A.M.A. in the late eighties.

Atlanta University did not cut its ties with the Association until after it had been through a grave crisis late in the 1880's. In 1885 President Ware died suddenly. Both the Association and the University were wholly unprepared for this blow, and the school that had fared so well since its founding entered a period of serious uncertainty. Three members of Atlanta's faculty were successively made temporary president.⁶⁷ Though it enabled the Association and Atlanta's trustees to have some time in which to select the proper man to become Ware's successor, on the whole it was a most unfortunate arrangement. Both Francis and Chase, the candidates not chosen, left Atlanta for posts elsewhere.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Thomas N. Chase, who had served ably as the temporary field superintendent of the A.M.A., and who had taught Greek at Atlanta since its founding, was "tried" during the first school year, 1885-1886. Horace Bumstead, a classmate of Ware's at Yale who had been with Atlanta since the mid-seventies, was temporary president during 1886 and 1887. Since he proved the best "money raiser," he was eventually given the position as permanent president. Cyrus W. Francis, also a classmate of Ware's at Yale, had been professor of theology and had served both the First Congregational and University churches in Atlanta. He was temporary president from 1887 to 1888.

⁶⁸ Professor Chase went to New Mexico in 1888, and Rev. Francis soon left the University.

However, the most serious blow to the University during this period was the withdrawal in 1887 by the State of Georgia of its eight thousand dollar annual appropriation which it had enjoyed since the early 1870's. Although this appropriation had never been really secure, as long as President Ware was alive there was relatively little trouble.⁶⁹ After he died the leaders in the state were unsure of the new leadership of the school. The Board of Visitors to the University in 1887 noted in its annual report that some white children were sitting alongside the Negro children in some classes. Although the children of the white instructors had attended classes at Atlanta University for several years, the knowledge of this fact brought the legislators of Georgia storming to their feet. Amid great excitement the "Glenn Bill" was introduced into the Georgia House of Representatives which would have placed in the Georgia chain-gang for a period of twelve months, the administrators responsible for bi-racial education, and made them liable for a fine of one thousand

⁶⁹ Atlanta received her first appropriation from the state in 1872. In 1874 a bill passed on March 3 made the appropriation automatic contingent upon a report of an annual board of visitors. In 1875 this bill was nearly repealed. See American Missionary, XIX (March, 1875), 5. Several times during the 1880's a certain discontented rumbling of the Georgians favored the establishment of the state's own Negro school, but it took the 1887 crisis to bring all this opposition to a head.

dollars. This punitive bill was shouted through the House, but fortunately wiser heads prevailed in the Senate. The Glenn Bill was never made a law, but it came close enough to elicit wide-spread sympathy for Atlanta University in the North. This issue raised war passions in both sections of the country for a time, and the eight thousand dollar appropriation from state funds ceased to go to Atlanta University.⁷⁰

Aside from the temporary unpleasantness at Atlanta, the Association's colleges were in excellent health in 1888. Fisk was carrying on work similar in caliber to that found in Northern colleges. Atlanta soon felt itself strong enough after its "period of crisis" to cut its ties with the Association in 1889. Especially Talladega, but also Tougaloo, Tillotson and Straight, the chartered institutions of second rank, had adequate plants, and their normal and professional work was well done and popular. The better graded and higher schools such as Lewis High School in Macon, Storrs School in Atlanta, Avery Institute in Charleston, Emerson Institute in Mobile, Gregory Institute in Wilmington and LeMoyne at Memphis were doing a job quite similar to the job done by the smaller chartered

⁷⁰Adams, History of Atlanta University, pp. 24-27. The entire issue of the American Missionary for September, 1887, is devoted to a resume of the various press reactions to the incident.

institutions. By 1888 the Association could count at least twenty permanent institutions that had been placed in the South because of its efforts for the education of the Negro.⁷¹

⁷¹American Missionary, XLII (October, 1888), 305-306. The twenty were: chartered institutions: Atlanta, Fisk, Talladega, Tougaloo, Straight and Tillotson; graded and normal schools: Lexington, LeMoyne, Gregory, Beaufort, Avery, Brewer, Storrs, Lewis, Beach, Thomasville, Dorchester, Trinity, Emerson and Lincoln Memorial. In the 1880's the Methodists and Baptist societies for freedmen's aid supported about the same number of institutions as the A.M.A. aided but on the whole their schools were not on a par with the Association schools. The Presbyterians supported four permanent schools, the Episcopalians two, and the Quakers "a few" and of course there were several state schools, Alcorn and Tuskegee being the most important. In all, the benevolent societies supported over twenty chartered institutions and over forty normal and graded schools for Negroes in the South. American Missionary, XXXVIII (December, 1884), 376.

CHAPTER VI

THE ASSOCIATION AND THE SOUTH'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Important as the work of the Association was in establishing permanent educational institutions for the freedmen, the influence of the Association upon Negro public education was also significant. It was estimated in 1888 that there were then fifteen thousand Negro teachers in the South instructing 800,000 pupils. Of the total, 13,500 teachers had been trained in schools supported by Northern benevolence, and seven thousand of them had been trained in A.M.A. schools.¹ And of these

¹ American Missionary, XL (October, 1888), 304. This estimate was made by the Association and seems to be quite close to the fact. The principal error is probably in the total number of students and teachers. The U.S. Bureau of Education statistics list 1,140,405 Negroes under instruction in 1888. This estimate by the Association is surely much more accurate than the one made in 1881 by Dr. R. L. Rust of the Methodist society. Rust estimated that Methodist schools had turned out 75,000 teachers who taught 750,000 Negro pupils throughout the South. Atticus G. Haygood, The Case of the Negro as to Education in the Southern States: a Report to the Trustees at the John F. Slater Fund (Atlanta, 1885), p. 37. Actually the U.S. Bureau of Education lists but 802,374 Negroes instructed in all the public schools in the South in 1881. Perhaps Dr. Rust was including free-lance private schools and Sunday schools as well.

thousands trained in A.M.A. schools, some had become persons of considerable consequence in Negro education. For example, John H. Burrus (Fisk, 1875) was President of Alcorn University at Lurman, Mississippi, and two other Fisk graduates were on the Alcorn faculty in 1883. Ernest H. Anderson (Fisk, 1880) was Principal of the Texas State Normal School at Hempstead.² An Atlanta University graduate was principal of Livingstone College, and another instructed at Tuskegee.³

The influence of Fisk graduates on the education of the Negroes in Tennessee was noteworthy. By 1884, 150 teachers were being graduated each year; many of them became teachers and school administrators. The principals of colored schools in Clarksville, Nashville, Jacksonville and Shelbyville in Tennessee were Fisk graduates.⁴ Most of Atlanta University's 111 normal school graduates prior to 1888 were concentrated in Georgia and Florida,⁵ and similar patterns could be plotted for Talladega in Alabama, Straight in Louisiana, Tougaloo in Mississippi and Tillotson in Texas. Fisk perhaps had the broadest

²Haygood, The Case for the Negro, pp. 23-24.

³Atlanta University Catalogue, 1887-1888, pp. 7-10.

⁴Haygood, The Case for the Negro, pp. 23-24. The list is only of the A.B. graduates of Fisk.

⁵Atlanta University Catalogue, 1887-1888, pp. 7-10.

influence, for it had graduates serving as principals of colored schools as far afield as Topeka, Kansas, Sparta, Illinois, and Jefferson, Indiana.⁶

The teachers trained inside the classrooms of A.M.A. institutions were not the only ones reached by its influence. A number of teacher institutes were set up by the Association during school vacations. Professor Albert Salisbury, Superintendent of Schools for the Association from 1882 to 1885, conducted several of these institutes each year during his tenure.⁷ The schools themselves also operated institutes. LeMoynes conducted an institute each June beginning in the late 1870's for the "colored teachers of Shelby and neighboring counties."⁸ An unique "institute" was inspired in the summer of 1877 by Professor Spence at Fisk who, in cooperation with the Methodist and Baptist Negro colleges in Nashville, sent a troupe of students and teachers throughout Tennessee in a sort of "educational revival." During that summer sixteen local institutes were held which instructed the colored people in the need

⁶ Haygood, The Case for the Negro, pp. 23-24.

⁷ American Missionary, XXXVIII (February, 1884), 51. This mentions two of Salisbury's many institutes, one held at Christmas time at Tougaloo and one in March at Talladega.

⁸ American Missionary, XXXIII (August, 1879), 242; XXXVI (September, 1882), 269.

of public education besides imparting much rudimentary knowledge to the ignorant in the model training sessions.⁹

The teachers' association was another force in public education, and Atlanta University students were especially active in its formation. At commencement time in 1879 the Georgia State Teachers Association was founded on the Atlanta University campus. Other Atlanta graduates had already taken the lead in the formation of the South-western Georgia Teachers Association in 1877.¹⁰ Avery students dominated the organization of the Charleston Teachers Union in January of 1879.¹¹

Furthermore, the Association was able to bring its influence to bear directly upon the development of public school education in the South. In several Southern states A.M.A. missionaries were instrumental in writing the public school legislation enacted by the various Reconstruction state governments. Francis L. Cardozo, founder of Avery Institute, while in the employ of the A.M.A. drew up the South Carolina bill.¹² John A. Rockwell, the Superintendent of the A.M.A.'s work at Macon, Georgia, served on the State

⁹Ibid., XXXII (January, 1878), 14-15.

¹⁰Ibid., XXXIII (August, 1879), 232; XXXII (March, 1878), 71.

¹¹Ibid., XXXIII (February, 1879), 42.

¹²Ibid., XIII (November, 1869), 241.

Board of Education and was appointed in 1867 to draft the "free school bill to be submitted" to the Georgia Legislature.¹³ Rev. John Silsby, A.M.A. missionary in central Alabama for many years, was probably the most influential member of the committee which drew up the article on education for the Alabama Constitution of 1867.¹⁴ In at least two other states Association missionaries were selected as the first men to administer the educational legislation passed by Reconstruction governments. Rev. S. S. Ashley in North Carolina and C. Thurston Chase in Florida, both A.M.A. missionaries prior to their appointments, became the first superintendents of public instruction in their respective states.¹⁵

The support given Southern public education by the missionaries of the A.M.A. was completely in harmony with the program of establishing permanent schools for training Negro teachers. The Association saw clearly that the new "universities" would be able to provide the Negro teachers needed in the developing Southern public schools systems.

¹³Ibid., XI (September, 1867), 209.

¹⁴The wording of this article is similar to that found in the Iowa Constitution of 1857. Mr. Silsby had been a home missionary of the A.M.A. in the Old Northwest in the late 1850's. Horace M. Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, A Study in Cotton and Steel (Washington, 1939), p. 87.

¹⁵American Missionary, XIII (November, 1869), 241.

Ex-Governor Joseph E. Brown of Georgia noted that "the New England States with their schools and universities, have dictated the laws of this continent."¹⁶ New England ideas had first permeated the West, then through Negro education and development of public school systems in the late 1860's they found their way into the South.¹⁷ Gradually the South came to the position that tax-supported schools should be provided for all children, and as early as the 1870's the more responsible Southerners supported the position that

¹⁶Ibid., XXXV (March, 1881), 67.

¹⁷Historians of Southern education seem to agree that it was during Reconstruction that the idea of public education first gained public acceptance in the South. Knight, the most pro-Southern historian of education admitted this, although perhaps negatively. He claimed that the only thing the Reconstruction governments did for public education in the South was, 1) to introduce mandatory provisions for education by law, 2) to provide for the education of Negroes as well as whites, and 3) to provide a uniform system of taxation for the support of schools. Edgar W. Knight, Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South (New York, 1913), p. 97. One might ask, however, what else one would include as essential points for the development of public schools.

Defenders of the "Confederate Way" generally claim that the public education laws were written by the Reconstructionists, but were not honestly or effectively applied until the Redeemers came back into power in the 1870's and 1880's. This position was badly shaken by C. Vann Woodward in his Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 61-62, and by Horace M. Bond's Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York, 1934). These historians point out that the principal interest of the Redeemers was in tax reduction. The result was that public education was the first to suffer from their economies.

the Negro should be educated at state expense. At this time, however, the principal motive behind the thinking of most Southerners seems to have been the feeling that if Southerners did not educate the freedmen "Radical incendiaries" would.¹⁸ Emory College's Atticus G. Haygood became one of the principal spokesmen of this sentiment favoring southern support of public education. A year before his appointment as agent for the Slater Fund he warned: "Our public schools system is painfully inadequate We are one hundred years behind the Eastern and Middle States."¹⁹

By the end of Reconstruction the South had made some progress toward adequate public school systems. In 1870 every state in the South had made some provision for a public school system, and "nearly all" had put "educational plans into operation."²⁰ Many of the public educational laws in the South, however, left much to be

¹⁸ American Missionary, XVI (January, 1872), 17-18; (May, 1872), 111. This periodical carried quotations from Henry Watterson's Louisville Courier Journal showing its support in 1872, and quotations from the Richmond Religious Herald as an example of the religious press support for educating the Negro.

¹⁹ American Missionary, XXXV (May, 1881), 133-34.

²⁰ Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1861-1871," Negro Education: a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, p. 286.

desired. Only West Virginia had any effective supervision on the local level; Kentucky made no provision for the education of Negroes; in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia and Louisiana there were few schools outside the cities; Florida had provided for no tax support as late as 1870; Virginia and Mississippi had barely gotten around to drawing up legislation in 1870; and Texas had no public school law whatsoever at that time.²¹

Once the Democrats returned to control of the Southern state houses in the mid-seventies, the public schools fared poorly. The Texas Supreme Court declared public schools unconstitutional in 1875,²² and the schools in other Southern states suffered from a lack of funds resulting from the Bourbon Democrat policy of low taxes. Schools in New Orleans were "indefinitely suspended" because of a lack of money in 1880,²³ and in Atlanta the educational authorities were hampered by a city charter which forbade a tax of over one and one-half percent on property.²⁴ This lack of public funds for the support of teachers sometimes threw former missionaries back on

²¹American Missionary, XIV (November, 1870), 253-54.

²²A. G. Marment to "Dear Bro.," May 29, 1875, A.M.A. Archives.

²³American Missionary, XXXIV (July, 1880), 210.

²⁴Ibid., I (February, 1877), 2.

the Association. A teacher from Arkansas, for example, complained that he had had no pay for six months, suspecting that the legislature had directed school funds "for other purposes."²⁵

The diversion of school funds seems to have been widely practiced in the South during Reconstruction and after. In Alabama between 1869 and 1874 of the more than \$2,500,000 appropriated for schools, almost two million dollars was directed to other functions.²⁶ In the year 1879 Dr. Sears of the Peabody Fund estimated that \$250,000 in school moneys were diverted in the State of Virginia alone.²⁷

²⁵M. W. Martin to A.M.A., February 6, 1875, A.M.A. Archives. This lack of pay and the diversion of funds was practiced by Reconstruction governments as well. Many Northern teachers were stranded in the South because of an inability or an unwillingness of the school authorities to pay them. Miss C. E. Williams to Cravath, February 9, 1872; Miss C. M. Blood to Cravath, May 9, 1872, A.M.A. Archives. American Missionary, XVI (July, 1872), 152.

²⁶The Democrats were in control in Alabama for two of these years, from 1870 to 1872, and the "rate of graft" was not appreciably changed. Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, p. 99.

²⁷American Missionary, XXXIII (November, 1879), 331. The diversion of such sums could well nigh destroy a system in the South judging from the Georgia budget for the year 1875. Of a total budget of \$1,500,000 nearly half was spent for "Public Debt and Interest due," fourteen percent was spent on education, thirteen percent was for "Special Appropriations," eight percent for the "Lunatic Asylum," eight percent for the pay of the legislature, and another eight percent for "Civil Establishment." Atlanta Constitution, VI, No 203 (January 15, 1875), 1.

Some Southern states discriminated against the Negro in appropriating state funds thus throwing the support of many Negro schools upon Northern benevolence. Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware placed a "head tax" on Negroes which required that they pay full measure for the public school funds received.²⁸ As a general rule the great difference in the standard of support given to Negro and white schools was a development of the 1890's, but this pattern had already become apparent in the 1870's and 1880's. In Kentucky in 1876 thirty cents was expended on each Negro pupil as compared to \$1.90 for each white pupil.²⁹ In this centennial year of the Declaration of Independence the Association for one could see clearly that "the want of funds" in the South was "first felt in the colored schools."³⁰

With most Southern states doing such a poor job for Negro education, the Association was not disposed to

²⁸ Bond, Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, pp. 42-47. American Missionary, XVII (September, 1873), 208.

²⁹ American Missionary, XX (January, 1876), 4. E. H. Fairchild to Strieby, October 23, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

³⁰ American Missionary Association, The Nation Still in Danger, or Ten Years after the War; a Plea by the American Missionary Association with Confirmatory Articles by T. D. Woolsey, Frederick Douglas, Washington Gladden, D. H. Chamberlain and J. P. Hawley (New York, 1876), p. 6.

withdraw many of its activities. However, in Arkansas, the Association's school work never gained a position of importance. The fact that the A.M.A. never operated a chartered institution in or near its borders may have been due to accident, but it may have been due to design. In Arkansas at the time when the infant Pine Bluff Normal was showing signs of developing into an important A.M.A. institution, the state killed the project with kindness. The local A.M.A. superintendent was hired away at twice the salary, and the state took over complete operation of the school with a generous offer for the rental of the property.³¹

Arkansas was not the only state to operate Negro schools in cooperation with the A.M.A. In the years from 1867 to 1888 Association schools enjoyed the appropriation of at least \$339,000 in funds from Southern states and local school boards. Most of this sum was given to Hampton, Atlanta and Tougaloo by the states of Virginia, Georgia and Mississippi as a way of distributing the Negro's share of the Morrill Act of 1862. But some \$150,000 came to institutions sustained by the A.M.A. from various local school boards in the South. The local authorities in Montgomery and Selma in Alabama, Atlanta in Georgia,

³¹M. W. Martin to Strieby, February 5, 1876, April 29, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

Columbus and Tougaloo in Mississippi and Wilmington in North Carolina were especially generous in their grants.³² The general pattern by which local boards aided Association schools was in the form of pay for the teachers chosen by the A.M.A. Sometimes the contract also included a specific sum for the lease of the property held by the Association.³³

In the development of public education in the South, then, the A.M.A.'s role seems to have been of considerable importance. During Reconstruction some missionaries of the Association had helped write the educational legislation which laid the foundation of the Southern public school system. Furthermore, the normal schools of the Association produced many of the Negro teachers for this system once it was established. During the seventies the public schools in many localities came into agreements with the Association whereby the cost of supporting certain schools was shared with the local school authorities. On the whole the A.M.A.'s role in helping to develop the public

³²See enclosed chart of local appropriations to A.M.A. schools.

³³In Selma, Alabama, the local principal, E. C. Silsby, so held the confidence of the local school board that the Association's Burrell School was considered as an integral part of the Selma public school system. E. C. Silsby to Strieby, October 2, 1876; William C. Ward to Strieby, June 24, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

education system in the South is generally little appreciated or ignored. The \$11,610,000 spent by the Association on Negro education in the South between 1861 and 1893 was a sum nearly twice as large as the expenditure of other benevolent societies, and one-seventh as large as the total expenditure for education by all the cities and states of the South.³⁴

Until the second decade of the twentieth century, the program for Southern Negro education was in no way adequate to meet the needs of the large population dependent upon it. Credit for creating this "great educational awakening" which made possible the better standards for Negro schools has generally been given to the large educational foundations, especially the Peabody Fund established in 1867, the John F. Slater Fund begun in 1882, and the General

³⁴ Total expenditures for Negro education to 1893.	
Southern states and cities	\$75,000,000
Freedmen's Bureau	5,200,000
American Missionary Association	11,610,000
F.A.S. of Methodist Episcopal Church	6,000,000
Am. Baptist H.M.S.	2,451,859
Presbyterian (New School) Boards	1,280,000
Quakers	1,004,129
American Freedmen's Union Commission	2,000,000
United Presbyterians	250,000
Episcopalians	500,000
Catholics	<u>750,000[?]</u>

\$105,046,088

These figures are largely taken from the estimates of J.L. H. Curry, Education of the Negro Since 1860, (New York, 1894), p. 30.

Education Board.³⁵ Can a connection be established between the A.M.A. and these great educational funds? Are these boards as important to the total educational picture of the Negro in the South as it is generally believed? Any thorough consideration of the Association's role in education should seek to answer these questions.

George Peabody's gift of more than one million dollars for the encouragement of education in the South was made in February, 1867. Peabody certainly was aware of the existence of the A.M.A. at the time he made his gift,³⁶ for the Association was then one of the chief freedmen's aid societies in the field. Yet the men he chose to administer his gift were persons in no way connected with any of the benevolent societies active in promoting education in the South. It seems clear that Mr. Peabody consciously avoided consultation with the radical

³⁵Woodward, Origin of the New South, pp. 400-401. Woodward claims that the "great educational awakening" was financed by Northern philanthropy but administered by Southern Bourbons in a sort of educational compromise. This historian seems enamored with the pattern of the compromise of conservatives in the North and South relative to the salvation of the South's ills in the nineteenth century.

³⁶There is some evidence that Peabody was approached directly by A.M.A. representatives on the Hampton project while he was visiting New Haven, Connecticut, in October of 1866. S. S. Jocelyn to Whipple, October 20, 1866, A.M.A. Archives.

abolitionists who then dominated the societies which promoted freedmen's aid.³⁷ The relationship between the A.M.A. and George Peabody seems to have been a negative one, and, when the Peabody Fund was established, persons connected with the A.M.A. were carefully avoided.

The Association's relationship to the gift of John F. Slater in 1882, however, seems to have been quite close. Between March, 1865, and February, 1871, John F. Slater donated at least \$1,960 to the treasury of the A.M.A. Norwich, Connecticut, the town in which Mr. Slater lived, was one of the most sympathetic of all New England towns in which the Association made its appeals. President E. A. Ware of Atlanta University grew up in Norwich,³⁸ and the Rev. M. M. G. Dana, pastor of the Second Congregational Church of which Mr. Slater was a member in the 1860's and 1870's, was a Vice-president of the A.M.A. and one of the Association's staunchest friends.³⁹ However, for some

³⁷Peabody was loudly damned as a "copperhead" by many radicals during the war because of what some considered softness toward the rebels. This criticism probably tended to drive him away from the ex-abolitionist element which dominated the A.M.A.

³⁸So did John A. Rockwell, the A.M.A. Superintendent in Macon and founder of Lewis High School.

³⁹American Missionary, XV (April, 1871), 87-90.

reason Mr. Slater's gifts to the A.M.A. stopped in 1871 and by the time his gift was made in 1882 he had left Second Church and become a member of Park Congregational Church in Norwich.⁴⁰

When Mr. Slater made his gift of one million dollars to form the fund bearing his name he showed in his letter of instructions to the trustees that the many appeals he had heard from the Association on behalf of the freedmen had left an impression upon him. He specified that the money should be spent to uplift "the lately emancipated population of the Southern States . . . by conferring upon them the blessings of Christian education."⁴¹ Though he was careful not to prescribe the means to be used in obtaining this end, he did indicate that "the training of teachers from among the people" and the encouragement of "such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers," were the ways he thought best suited to realize this object.⁴²

⁴⁰Park Church was also a heavy contributor to the Association, but there is no evidence that Mr. Slater ever contributed very heavily to the collections for the A.M.A. from that church.

⁴¹Southern Education Foundation Biennial Report for 1950-1951-1951-1952 (Atlanta, 1952), p. 98. Mr. Slater later noted that "the common school teaching of Massachusetts and Connecticut was Christian education." Proceedings of Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1884 (Hampton, Virginia), p. 5.

⁴²Southern Education Foundation, Biennial Report, p. 99.

These instructions were much less original than most writers hold them to be. Many of the ideas found in Mr. Slater's letter can be found in the pages of the American Missionary in the years following the Civil War.⁴³ Slater himself noted in his letter of instruction to the trustees of his fund that he was proposing "nothing new or untried." Rather, he said, he was merely associating himself "with some of the noblest enterprises of charity and humanity."⁴⁴ Although George Peabody had established the trust fund which provided the legal model for Slater's fund, the statement of the Slater Fund's purpose and the suggested means for its attainment were drawn generally from the experiences and appeals of the various benevolent societies which had labored two decades for the elevation of the freedmen.⁴⁵

⁴³Curry insists that Slater's ideas were largely original, and most later writers have assumed this to be the case. See Curry, Education of the Negro Since 1860, pp. 30-31.

The argument found in Slater's letter about the need for Negro education to "save our common country" was one of the most worn of the A.M.A.'s mission appeals. The belief in the Negro's long-suffering fidelity to the Union and his innocent ignorance was a common abolitionist-benevolent society idea.

⁴⁴Southern Education Foundation, Biennial Report, p. 99.

⁴⁵Of the original Slater Board of fifteen members only Daniel C. Gilman, Phillips Brooks and William E. Dodge had any close connection with the various benevolent and freedmen's aid societies. Phillips Brooks had been one of the organizers of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association

The Peabody Fund was established to aid the education of both races in the South, but, because of the existing prejudice against the Negro, the Peabody Fund in its attempt to gain broad support for public education gave increasingly less attention to Negro education.⁴⁶ Aid was given Negro schools, but in the early 1870's the Fund inaugurated a policy of allowing only two-thirds as much

during the war. Daniel C. Gilman was a close friend of Henry S. DeForest who became president of Talladega College in 1879. (The Gilman Papers at Yale show a rather intimate and lively correspondence between DeForest and his Yale professor, Gilman, in March and April of 1865. The topic of discussion was the war, "Confederate relics," and general army life.) William E. Dodge contributed generously to several A.M.A. institutions. In his will he left \$5,000 each to Atlanta, Hampton and Howard, and \$10,000 to Lincoln University (Presbyterian). During his lifetime he contributed \$1,800 to Atlanta University. American Missionary, XXXVII (April, 1883), 100-101.

⁴⁶This lack of support for Negro education is seen in the final distribution of the Fund in 1914. While the Slater Fund was given the Negro's share of the remaining funds, \$350,000, the George Peabody College for Teachers (white) received \$1,500,000, twelve southern state universities (white), \$378,000, Johns Hopkins, \$6,000, and Winthrop Normal (white), \$90,000. The entries of expenditures made up to that time are impossible to separate into expenditures for Negroes and whites. Jesse B. Sears, Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education (Washington, 1922), p. 90. As an indication of the probable paucity of Peabody aid to Negro schools, the Association, which operated nearly one-third of the principal Negro schools in the South, received but \$2,626.18 from the Peabody Fund from 1868 to 1881, a period during which the Fund distributed a total of \$1,283,150. See Curry, History of the Peabody Fund, p. 147.

salary for teachers in colored schools as for teachers in white schools.⁴⁷ The administrators of the Peabody Fund thus quickly came to accept the Southern pattern of a dual system of schools. The result was that the greater part of its income was applied to the education of the whites.

The Slater Fund was created specifically for the benefit of the colored race. Because of this fact the Association's schools were able to share substantially in the grants from this Fund, and about forty percent of the amount distributed by the Slater Fund went to schools related to the A.M.A.⁴⁸ The large appropriations given

⁴⁷Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, p. 131, damns the Fund rather severely for inaugurating this practice. American Missionary, XVI (June, 1872), 183-84.

⁴⁸Total disbursements of the Slater Fund from 1883-1888 was \$180,020.45.

Appropriations to A.M.A. Schools						
	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
Lewis High School	200	200	500	600	500	500
Tougaloo	1000	2000	1000	1000	1500	1500
LeMoyne	500	500	1200	1200	1500	1500
Atlanta	2000	2000	2000	1400	1800	1600
Talladega	2000	2000	2000	1400	1400	1400
Hampton	2000	2000	2000	3000	3000	3000
Tillotson	0	600	600	600	600	900
Fisk	0	1975	2000	1300	1300	1300
Totals	\$7,700	11,275	11,300	10,500	12,600	11,700

Institutions closely related to the A.M.A.						
Howard	0	0	1000	600	600	600
Lincoln Memorial	0	0	1000	900	1000	0

Until 1886 a total of \$138,015 was appropriated by the Slater Fund to Negro Schools. Of this total A.M.A.

A.M.A. schools by the Slater Fund seem to indicate some common aims. There is evidence, however, that the purposes of the Association and the Slater Fund were not always parallel.

The letter of John F. Slater to his original board of trustees had mentioned the fact that he wished his fund to promote "Christian education" among the freedmen, and that he hoped that they would see fit to promote this end by training teachers for the Negro race. Very soon, however, the Fund began to emphasize industrial training often to the exclusion of normal training. The selection of Atticus G. Haygood, former president of Emory College in Oxford, Georgia, as General Agent seemed to insure this emphasis upon industrial education. In his first report to the Slater trustees Dr. Haygood noted that as far as practicable, the scholars aided by the Fund should "be trained in some manual occupation" along with their other instruction.⁴⁹ This recommendation was quickly adopted by the board and became its fixed policy.⁵⁰

schools received thirty-nine percent or \$54,015. In the next two years, 1886 to 1888, the Fund appropriated \$42,005 of which A.M.A. institutions received fifty percent or \$21,060. Curry, Education of the Negro Since 1860, p. 32.

⁴⁹Organization of the Slater Fund, p. 19.

⁵⁰The influence of Booker T. Washington upon the formation of Slater policy seems to have been negligible. At the time he was an unrecognized principal of one of a host of struggling Alabama Negro schools. His first national

Actually the ideal of industrial education was in harmony with the ideals of Negro education developed in many of the Association's institutions up to that time. In fact the whole manual labor movement in this country since the 1830's was closely related to the abolitionist and the freedmen's aid crusades.⁵¹ After the war the principle of manual labor found its most able defender in Samuel C. Armstrong, principal of Hampton. General Armstrong was a meticulous man and slovenly work and habits were abhorrent to him. The generally loose ways of the Negro disgusted him, and he set about to mould the Negro into a more efficient middle class citizen. With the full cooperation of the officers of the Association he began the

recognition came in 1885 when he gave a speech before the National Education Association meeting in Madison, Wisconsin. The Slater policy was fixed by 1883. Bond in his Education of the Negro in the American Social Order makes the careless mistake of assuming that Mr. Washington must have influenced Slater policy as he later did Rockefeller, Carnegie and Guggenheim policy.

⁵¹ The manual labor idea was generally accepted by the early western evangelical abolitionists. Many of the Lane Rebels, including George Whipple, had been trained first at Oneida Institute, one of the first manual labor schools in the country. Oberlin at the time of its foundation in 1833 was a manual labor institution. Despite the apparent failure of the principle by 1850, it made its appearance again when schools for the freedmen were established in the South. Theodore D. Weld, the leader of the Western abolitionists, held to the manual labor ideal consistently, dedicating the last part of his life to directing manual labor schools in the northeast.

experiment at Hampton on a manual labor basis.⁵² "Right methods of work," he insisted, were the proper basis for the education of the ex-slave.⁵³

Hampton was not the only institution supported by the A.M.A. to have a heavy industrial emphasis before Slater made his gift. Dr. Julius Y. LeMoyne, for example, made his donation in 1871 to the school which bears his name in Memphis "with the only restriction that dead languages should not be taught there."⁵⁴ In the late 1870's there was a rapid development of the demand "for industrial departments"⁵⁵ in nearly all A.M.A. schools with the result that by 1882 thriving departments training students in manual skills had developed at Talladega, LeMoyne and

⁵²Armstrong's ideas seem to have been drawn from his own experiences during the war and with the manual labor schools established by the American Board missionaries in Hawaii where he lived until he was of college age. He could not have been completely unaware of the generation long experience with manual labor in this country, for he quickly came to understand the reason for the failure of the principle in the 1840's—that manual labor did not save money, but was actually more expensive than other methods of education. The fact that an old Oneida man, George Whipple, became his principal patron in the early years of Hampton, and later became the first chairman of Hampton's trustees seems so far to have been overlooked by historians.

⁵³Samuel C. Armstrong, Ideas on Education Expressed by Samuel Chapman Armstrong (Hampton, Virginia, 1908), p. 3.

⁵⁴American Missionary, XV (July, 1871), 160-61.

⁵⁵Ibid., XXXIII (November, 1879), 337.

Tougaloo, and beginnings in industrial training had been made at Atlanta and Fisk.⁵⁶

The general acceptance of manual labor principles by schools which were later to damn Booker Washington and the Hampton-Tuskegee idea was, considering the climate of opinion of the 1880's, not the least bit strange. As a matter of fact the Association itself was in deep sympathy with the manual labor idea during most of the 1880's. Industrial education was the "newest thing," and educators were not considered "progressive" unless they introduced the idea into their curriculum. Professor Albert Salisbury, the A.M.A.'s Superintendent of Education in the South, felt that industrial education "was an intelligent systematic training of the organs and facilities," and a much more defensible extra-curricular activity than the athletic programs then growing up in the Northern universities.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1882), 350. Tougaloo offered a broad training in agricultural skills as part of its total program in early 1882: American Missionary, XXXVI, February, 1882, p. 48. Talladega had developed a similar program even earlier. G. S. Pope, who later became president of Tougaloo, developed the Talladega program in the late 1870's. Pope to Strieby, September 23, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

⁵⁷Salisbury had a long, systematic analysis of industrial education in the American Missionary, XXXVIII (November, 1884), 338-40 and XXXIX (February, 1885), 51-52. The quotation is from his article in the American Missionary, XXXVIII (October, 1884), 299-300. A visitor to the A.M.A.'s schools in the South in 1886 noted a "prevalent spirit" for industrial education. American Missionary, XL (August,

By the late 1880's industrial education had been introduced at all of the A.M.A.'s institutions except Straight University and several of the graded and normal schools. This was not done impulsively, for industrial education was very costly, and the Association's leadership at this time was not prone to spend money needlessly.⁵⁸

Atlanta University erected a six thousand dollar industrial building in 1885, and Fisk by 1889 offered woodworking and printing for men and four homemaking skills for women.⁵⁹

The type of industrial training given at Fisk and Atlanta, however, was less extensive than the type offered at Hampton and other predominantly industrial schools. At these institutions which claimed to hold to the classical idea of liberal education, the "underlying principles" of construction and other skills were taught with "extreme thoroughness" rather than concentrating upon the specific skills themselves.⁶⁰

Not all of the leaders of the Association and its

1886), 220.

⁵⁸Ibid., XXXIX (December, 1885), 364-65. Twenty thousand dollars had been spent on industrial equipment up to that time, and there was an immediate need for \$31,000 more at A.M.A. schools. Ten thousand dollars was said to be needed at Fisk alone.

⁵⁹American Missionary, XXXIX (September, 1885), 255; XLIII (November, 1889), 308.

⁶⁰Ibid., XL (August, 1886), 217.

institutions in the South succumbed to the ideas favoring industrial education during the 1880's. Many felt that the schools founded by the Association in the South, built "in the best New England tradition,"⁶¹ should conduct their schools for the freedmen in the tested and tried way of New England with its heavily classical emphasis. Professor Adam K. Spence, Dean of Fisk, was perhaps the most uncompromising defender of the thorough, classical education for Negroes. Yet even Fisk seems to have "gone along" with the prevalent industrial education trend, to have applied for and received Slater aid for their industrial departments, but keeping the classical studies at the heart of her curriculum. President Ware of Atlanta University, also, although recognizing the importance of normal and industrial education, claimed for Negro higher education the "same place accorded it in other sections" of the country. The small percentage of the Negro population educated in classical studies was not, he insisted, "educating them out of their place."⁶² President Cravath of Fisk, in 1882, the same year the Slater Fund was organized, urged the "necessity of higher education," and "patient, long-continued and wisely-directed study" as the best means of

⁶¹Ibid., XII (June, 1868), 122.

⁶²Ibid., XXV (December, 1881), 390-92.

teaching Negro leaders.⁶³ Henry S. DeForest, President of Talladega, defended classical studies with some humor. The "higher range of studies" was necessary, he quipped, "to supplant self-conceit with self-reliance." He noted that ignorant people were inflated by the mere rudiments of knowledge, but "broad scholarship gives modesty." The Negro should have as good an education as his capabilities entitled him to, and experience had shown that he could learn anything a white man could.⁶⁴ Even by the end of the 1880's, then, effective voices were being raised from the campuses of some of the Association's institutions in defense of the classical, liberal education for the ex-slave. The debate between a "liberal" and a "Negro" education was well launched before Booker T. Washington became the spokesman of his race.

It can be seen, therefore, that the Association's role in educating the Negro after emancipation was an important one. Some twenty permanent institutions were begun under its fostering care, institutions which trained a legion of Negro teachers. These schools proved to be fitting models

⁶³Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1882), 371. President W. W. Patton of Howard University also staunchly defended "higher education" for the Negro in the face of the trend toward industrial education. American Missionary, XXXIX (August, 1885), 217.

⁶⁴Ibid., XLI (March, 1887), 71-73.

for the state supported Negro schools which were soon to follow. Furthermore, the influence of the Association in developing a public education system in the South, while often overlooked, was very great. Finally, when the great foundations came upon the scene, the A.M.A. and its schools proved to be the most consistent friends of a well balanced Negro education insisting as they did that industrial education should not be the end of Negro education, but that Negroes should have the same educational opportunities that other Americans have.

CHAPTER VII

THE ASSOCIATION AND THE NATION

Any study of the American Missionary Association which confined itself to specific activities of the Association without trying to relate it to the nation as a whole would be leaving out one of the most important parts of the story. No organization operates in a vacuum—it reflects the attitudes and prejudices of its day—and this is as true of churches and missionary societies as of political parties. Certainly the American Missionary Association was affected by the prevailing attitudes of the mid-nineteenth century, and its activities were closely related to the total Reconstruction picture.

Before the war the A.M.A. was an integral part of the "Christian abolitionist" movement. It held a position somewhere between that held by the secular abolitionists led by William Lloyd Garrison on the one hand and the orthodox conservative churches on the other. Until the late 1850's the Association was considered radical by most churches because of its uncompromising attitude on slavery. But when the darkening clouds of war began to gather, many

orthodox Christians in the North came to feel that the Association's position on slavery had been the proper one. The small conscience missionary society¹ of the 1840's-50's became in the 1860's the leader of a Northern crusade to save the South and the nation through Negro education.

The characteristics of this crusade were several. First of all it was Protestant, and typical of much of the Protestant missionary motivation of the day, it was heavily anti-Catholic. As late as the 1870's the leaders of the Association professed to see a "Catholic menace" which threatened the nation through evangelization of the Negro in the South.² But an even more important ingredient in the total freedmen's crusade was the determination of New England to bear a "Yankee Burden" in order that the rest of the nation might enjoy the institutions which had brought prosperity and culture to her. Free schools, civil rights, and a free church had to be carried into a South which was, to their way of thinking, so different from New England that it seemed to be a foreign country. In the South slavery and force had prevailed in place of freedom and

¹The A.M.A.'s original role was as missionary outlet for moneys free of the taint of slavery.

²American Missionary Association, The Nation Still in Danger; or, Ten Years After the War, a Plea by the American Missionary Association with confirmatory Articles by T. D. Woolsey, Frederick Douglass, Washington Gladden and J. P. Hawley (New York, 1876), p. 9.

democracy, and Southerners were seen as "incomplete Americans" and plotters of treason³ against the nation.

Of course this New England "burden" had its share of industrial-federalism as well, for some Northerners saw an economic advantage to be gained in the South. These persons hoped that the New South was to be an economic carbon copy of New England,⁴ and they envisioned the freedman as a potential laborer who could be educated to hold the proper ideas of middle class thrift, of puritan morality and of loyalty to his employers and the Republican Party.⁵

³See Harlan P. Douglas, Christian Reconstruction of the South (Boston, 1909), p. 45, and Augustus F. Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood, a History of the American Missionary Association (Boston, 1909), p. 226. These same sentiments were expressed in President Kirk's annual address in 1865. See American Missionary Association 19th Annual Report (1865). Even Samuel C. Armstrong in the late 1860's had a deep suspicion of Southerners. He noted that the "conceit and prejudice of the late rebels will not soon be abandoned." Suzanne C. Carson, Samuel Chapman Armstrong; Missionary to the South (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins, 1952), p. 157.

⁴American Missionary, XXXIV (June, 1880), 166.

⁵Ibid., XIX (May, 1875), 97; Carson, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, p. 137. This can also be seen in President Kirk's address to the Annual Meeting of the A.M.A. on October 17, 1867. Some propagandists for the A.M.A. even suggested a direct economic benefit from missions through an increase in productive labor and a lessening of danger to democracy through Negro illiteracy. The A.M.A. itself was a sort of middle class model of thrift and efficiency at this time, a reputation which it inherited from Lewis Tappan.

This is not to say that all those who supported the A.M.A. did so from economic motives. On the contrary, many saw the work of the A.M.A. in behalf of the freedmen as a significant step in the elevation of humanity generally. These humanitarians saw the race problem as a blot alike upon the Gospel of Christ and upon American democracy. They were determined to demonstrate the full equality of the Negro and to carry out the doctrine of Jefferson and the "radical teachings of Jesus."⁶ During the war and Reconstruction periods an obvious difference of opinion developed between the radical humanitarians who looked upon the Negro as a brother in need of help and the orthodox, middle-class Yankees of the old Federalist stamp who saw the Negro as a grower of cotton and a foil against the labor movement. Both supported the A.M.A.'s activities at the height of its influence in the 1860's. Each saw in Negro education the North's best hope for undoing the damage of the Southern "plantation way," and both gave their support to the same groups to accomplish this task, the various benevolent societies and the Republican Party. The motivating forces of the humanitarians and the old Federalists, however, were so different that soon the

⁶See J. W. Cooper, 60 Years and Beyond (New York, [?]), p. 3; American Missionary, VIII (January, 1864), 11; 18th Annual Report, pp. 15, 19. In the annual reports there were numerous cases of insistence upon the equal mental capacity of the Negro.

wartime harmony between them came to an end. In politics the humanitarian element was shouldered from its places of influence in the Republican Party⁷ and left with only a few reform groups on the fringe of the party. In the benevolent societies the humanitarian group retained its dominance for some time, but even here the ultimate direction of affairs came to be carried on by administrators friendly to the old Federalists who were, after all, the source of much of the revenue.

During the war the leaders of the Association looked upon the bloody events of the day as a vindication of the radical stand on slavery they had held to since the 1840's. These leaders believed that God had chosen the terror of war and the wrath of the cannon to purge America of her sin of slavery. They felt that the sooner President Lincoln and the national government realized this fact, the sooner the wrath of the Almighty would be appeased and peace returned to the land. By the Emancipation Proclamation the Association felt that the government brought itself into harmony with the divine will, thus showing itself worthy of divine favor and martial victory.⁸ When the

⁷This is not to suggest that these two interests were the only elements in the Republican coalition.

⁸When the Negro soldiers were taken into the Union Army the Association's leaders could hardly contain their satisfaction. See Tappan to Senator Henry Wilson, December 12,

struggle ended the leaders of the Association felt that the time had come to move into the benighted, sin-ridden South and to give the full benefit of Yankee institutions to the long-suffering ex-slaves. For a period of five years radical humanitarianism spilled over at full tide.

In reconstructing the South the humanitarian leaders of the Association believed that only the Gospel of Christ could be counted on to bring permanent peace and prosperity. All the South's people, black and white, had to be "born again."⁹ Of course, this rebirth was to be along Yankee lines which would bring a new era involving the ideals of free labor rather than slavery, middle-class morality and thrift rather than "slovenly Southern ways," free schools rather than the aristocratic education of a few, a staunch individualism in place of a closely guarded class and racial philosophy.¹⁰ It was felt that an "invasion of light and love" could save the "fallen South." However,

1864, Tappan Papers. In the American Missionary, IV (May, 1860), 107-108, Tappan saw the inevitability of a war between Christianity and slavery. In an article in the American Missionary, VI (September, 1862), 205, Tappan showed great impatience with Lincoln on the slavery issue, though the 16th Annual Report (1862), p. 5, pleaded for support of the "present administration" as a "sacred Christian duty."

⁹19th Annual Report (1865), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰American Missionary, X (April, 1866), 82; XIII (May, 1869), 98. This whole crusade had a martial spirit pervading it. See American Missionary, XVI (May, 1872), 109.

because of the blighting effects of slavery upon Southern whites, only the colored population could be counted upon to recognize the superiority of Northern institutions.¹¹ Children were, they believed, the most readily influenced group among the freedmen. Thus, the means to be used to regenerate the South was to send from the North Christian teachers who would provide more wholesome mentors than the "bowie knife" Southern master.¹² Many firmly believed that the North was duty bound to give of its best to the Southern Negro. It had set him free; now it was obliged to "see him through" his time of trial and equip him through education to meet the obligations and opportunities of freedom.¹³

In the eyes of the Association and its supporters it was essential that Republican control be continued in Washington. Not that the Association or its missionaries were active partisans—most of them were not—but their sympathy with the Republican Party was as natural as it was open. The Association and the Republicans were partners in the "permanent reconstruction and regeneration" of the country.¹⁴ Generally speaking, however, the Association's

¹¹Ibid., IX (July, 1865), 147.

¹²Ibid., XIV (March, 1870), 53.

¹³Ibid., XVI (July, 1872), 159.

¹⁴Ibid., XI (October, 1867), 228.

means were "beyond politics," although often the Association and the Republican Party worked in close harmony. For example, the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Bill were occasions of "thanksgiving to God,"¹⁵ and when the Negro, Hiram K. Revels, took his seat in the United States Senate¹⁶ the A.M.A. spoke in glowing terms of a "New era." The Association seems to have been a major source of "outrage" stories for the Radical Republican press,¹⁷ and to have been one of the first to demand a military occupation of the South.

Despite the Association's insistence that it had "no partisan mission"¹⁸ there is considerable evidence of direct contact between the Republican Party and the A.M.A. Several of the vice-presidents of the Association were Republican leaders,¹⁹ and a few Association missionaries

¹⁵Ibid., XI (April, 1867), 86.

¹⁶Ibid., XIV (April, 1870), 90; and XV (February, 1871), 42, have glowing reports of the Negro Representatives then in Congress; XL (June, 1886), 164-65 is an article by Blanch K. Bruce.

¹⁷F. D. Small, Assistant to Adj. General, Bureau of R., F., & A. L. to Ketchum, November 20, 1868, A.M.A. Archives.

¹⁸22nd Annual Report (1868), p. 73.

¹⁹Henry Wilson, Governor Buckingham of Connecticut, Governor Washburn of Massachusetts and Governor Chamberlain of Maine, were all vice-presidents of the A.M.A. O. O. Howard was on the Executive Committee. James Garfield was close to the Association through his contacts

participated directly in Republican activities in the South. Francis L. Cardozo left the principalship of Avery Institute in Charleston to follow a political career which eventually led him into the position of Secretary of State under the South Carolina Republicans. Cardozo was also active in the Union League as were General Armstrong and John C. Holbrook.²⁰ Generally the Association teachers chose to avoid direct participation in the Union League. In Kentucky in 1862 both George Candee and John A. R. Rogers, Association missionaries, refused to join the Union League, although the League extended to them the "protection" accorded to full fledged members.²¹ Some Association missionaries did participate directly in partisan activities. John G. Fee of Berea, for example, went as a delegate to

with S. C. Armstrong. President Hayes spoke at an Annual Meeting in the 1880's. Charles Sumner had some correspondence with the A.M.A., Whipple to Sumner, April 16, 1872, Sumner Papers. Thaddeus Stevens seems to have had no interest in any portion of the Benevolent Empire except where votes could be secured, Stevens Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁰On the whole, however, if the political action of the A.M.A. missionaries was typical of that of the other Northern missionaries, there seems to be little to support Fleming's assertion that Northern teachers were prominent in the Union League's organization, see Walter L. Fleming, Sequel to Appomattox (New Haven, 1919), p. 180.

²¹American Missionary, VII (January, 1863), 16.

the Tennessee Union Convention in 1865,²² and a few missionaries were active in the organization of a Republican press in the South.²³ Several persons connected with the A.M.A. were more or less active in local politics,²⁴ and some prominent Southern Republicans associated themselves closely with the work done by the A.M.A. in Negro education. Governor D. H. Chamberlain of South Carolina, Governor Bullock of Georgia and Governor Brownlow of Tennessee all gave support to A.M.A. schools.²⁵ On the whole, however, the direct political participation of the Association and its missionaries was quite limited. Certainly

²²Ibid., IX (March, 1865), 56.

²³S. S. Ashley helped begin a Republican organ at Wilmington, North Carolina. See Woodworth to Strieby, April 11, 1867, A.M.A. Archives. Rev. S. C. Feemster published the Christian Republican in Columbus, Mississippi, dedicated to promoting Congregationalism and the Republicanism. American Missionary, XV (January, 1871), 17. E. M. Cravath encouraged the Republican Advocate of Atlanta, Georgia. W. L. Clark to Cravath, December 16, 1874, A.M.A. Archives.

²⁴See American Missionary, IX (May, 1865), 98; W. L. Clark to Cravath, June 17, 1874, A.M.A. Archives.

²⁵Chamberlain wrote an appeal for Negro education which appeared in the American Missionary, XIX (August, 1875), 174. The American Missionary, XIII (July, 1869), notes that Bullock was on a commission with three others including Col. J. K. Lewis which attended the ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone of Atlanta University's first building. Beard, Crusade of Brotherhood, p. 153, notes that Governor Brownlow was at the opening of Fisk University in 1866.

the teachers of the A.M.A. did not directly marshal the Negro vote through the Union League as some historians claim. But neither were these missionaries non-partisan. It is hardly strange that the teachers sent South were staunchly Republicans. Had not the G.O.P. fought and won the war that had emancipated the slaves? Furthermore, the supporters of the Association saw in the Republican dependence upon the Negro vote in the South a natural ally in the cause of Negro education. In fact the direct ratio between Republican voting and the level of Negro education was a point often made by the Association during Reconstruction.²⁶ It seems, therefore, that although the A.M.A. and its missionaries claimed that they were in no way partisan, in spirit at least the Association was in full sympathy with the radical Republican policies during the 1860's.

As might have been expected, the reaction of white Southerners to the activities of the A.M.A. was generally hostile. This unfriendliness was reflected in many ways ranging from mere social discourtesies to outright intimidation and violence. The social ostracism directed against the "Yankee School-marms" by the Southern women was quite

²⁶ Armstrong to Garfield, January 15, 1870, Garfield Papers; American Missionary, XIV (July, 1870), 158; XII (November, 1868), 253; XV (July, 1871), 157. Even Horace Greeley noted the direct relationship of Republicanism and

general following the war, a fact which forced the Yankee teacher to live in mission homes and to seek the companionship among fellow teachers and in the Negro community.²⁷

Of the Southern churches, only the Negro denominations were friendly toward the Northern teacher, and Yankees were occasionally requested not to attend the white churches.²⁸

When E. A. Ware, an Association missionary in Atlanta, attended the Georgia Education Association meeting in Macon in October, 1867, great bitterness was shown toward the "Yankee interloper" who taught a Negro school.²⁹

In May, 1866, the Negro students of an Association school in Augusta, Georgia, were prevented from strewing flowers

Negro education.

²⁷Fleming in his Sequel to Appomattox, p. 213, compares Northern teachers to the "Plagues of Egypt" and describes them as "saints, fools and incendiaries," and as "Emmisaries of Christ and the Radical party." Mildred Thompson, Reconstruction in Georgia, Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872 (New York, 1915), pp. 128-129, 133, 205, notes that "Yankee schoolmams were special objects of ostracism. It was hard for them to secure board in white families, so they had to live with Negroes whether they wished or not." Beard in his Crusade of Brotherhood, p. 148, notes that teachers' homes became necessary because of this ostracism. Swint's study, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870, is the most complete on this subject. He claims that (pp. 94-95) Southerners at first were cool, but were not bitter against the teacher. It was only when the Yankee teacher identified herself with Republicanism and egalitarianism that the Southerner reacted with open hostility.

²⁸American Missionary, XVI (June, 1872), 126; Swint, Northern Teacher, p. 98.

²⁹American Missionary, XI (October, 1867), 225-26.

on the graves of Union soldiers by a large force of armed men headed by the mayor of Augusta.³⁰

Often southern ire against the Yankee missionaries went beyond mere protests. Violence against the Association's teachers, pupils and property were fairly common after the spring of 1866. During the Memphis race riots the A.M.A. lost a new one thousand dollar chapel and school houses valued at five thousand dollars.³¹ In that same spring of 1866 the Association's principal agent in Mississippi, the Rev. J. P. Bardwell, was attacked and beaten by a Grenada, Mississippi, mob, and the Freedmen's Bureau agent who tried to help Mr. Bardwell was shot and killed.³²

³⁰Ibid., X (June, 1866), 135.

³¹Ibid., X (June, 1866), 133; (August, 1866), 171.

³²20th Annual Report (1866), p. 35; American Missionary, X (June, 1866), p. 38. The following is a list of "outrages" against the A.M.A. in the South:

1866—Sporadic and unorganized incidents:

Memphis Riots (loss of \$1,000 chapel and \$5,000 schools).

Personal violence:

Bardwell-Blanding incident in Mississippi (see text above).

Scofield driven out of Ft. Nelson, Kentucky.

Mary Close attacked in Brandon, Mississippi.

Norfolk, Va., school burns (origin of fire uncertain).

1867—Series of very mild and sporadic attacks:

Franklin, Va., school "bothered" with horns.

Negro shot in front of teachers' home in Galveston, Texas.

1868—Organized Terror:

Ku Klux warnings begin.

However, until the excitement of the election of 1868 brought an increase in organized partisan activity, the attacks upon the Association and its personnel were sporadic and usually mild. Mary Close, a fiery missionary in Brandon, Mississippi, successfully stood off the attacks of rock-throwing white boys and the local editor who tried to force her to leave town.³³ In Franklin, Virginia, the young men of the village attempted to drive the "nigger teachers" from the area by blowing fish horns all night for

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- 1869 W. T. Walker, A Negro member of 1st Congregational Church in Atlanta murdered in south Georgia.
A.M.A. teacher whipped and driven from Virginia.
2 former Fisk University students whipped and driven from their schools in Tennessee.
Secretary Strieby reports three acts of violence in Georgia in his one week visit to Atlanta.
- 1870 A. B. Corliss, former A.M.A. missionary who reported Franklin, Va., incident above, whipped and driven from North Carolina.
William C. Luke murdered in Alabama.
- 1871—The Incendiary Period:
Dudley, N. C., church burned—incendiary.
- 1872 Norfolk, Va., church and school burns for second time—origin of fire uncertain.
- 1875 Terror reported around Tougaloo.
- 1876 Emerson Institute (Mobile, Alabama), burned—incendiary.
Lewis High School (Macon, Georgia), burned—incendiary.
- 1877 Straight University (New Orleans), burned—incendiary.
- 1878 Beach Institute (Savannah) burned—perhaps incendiary.
- 1879 Academic Hall at Hampton burns.
- 1880 Barns at Talladega burn.
- 1881 Tougaloo Boys dormitory burns.
- 1882 Emerson Institute burns for second time—incendiary.
- 1885 Conn. Industrial School in Quitman, Georgia, burned—incendiary.

a week.³⁴ However, when the Ku Klux Klan began to move against those with Republican sentiments as the presidential election of 1868 approached, the Association suffered its share of personal violence. In the period from 1868 to 1870 two persons were murdered who were very close to the A.M.A. although not actually in the Association's employ;³⁵ and at least four others more or less closely related to the A.M.A. were whipped and driven from their fields of activity.³⁶

During the 1870's and 1880's after some law and order had been restored to the South and the Association had come

This list is compiled from the American Missionary, 1866-1885.

³³20th Annual Report, p. 35.

³⁴21st Annual Report (1867), p. 25.

³⁵W. T. Walker, Negro member of the First Congregational Church, Atlanta, was murdered in Blakeley, Georgia, while on a tour to organize Republican clubs in 1868. William C. Luke, an independent missionary and a member of the Talladega, Alabama, church, was murdered in Patona, Alabama in 1870. Luke had been conducting a Negro school in the area for some months prior to his death. American Missionary, XI (November, 1868), 249; XIV (October, 1870), 285.

³⁶Two Fisk students teaching in a rural Tennessee area were whipped and driven away from their labors. American Missionary, XIII (October, 1869), 229. An A.M.A. teacher was driven out of Virginia by a group of "ruffians" in late 1869. American Missionary, XIV (January, 1870), 9. A. B. Corliss, a former missionary of the Association, was driven out of North Carolina by a similar group in 1870. American Missionary, XIV (October, 1870), 237.

to own considerable Southern properties, incendiarism was the most important means by which some Southerners harassed the work of the A.M.A. From 1871 to 1885 the Association lost eleven buildings to fire, and of those burned seven were believed to have been begun by incendiaries.³⁷

Emerson Institute in Mobile was burned twice during these years,³⁸ but the most bitter attack upon Association property during this "incendiary period" was one made in 1885 on a school opened by the A.M.A. in Quitman, Georgia.

Early in 1885 a Connecticut woman gave the Association a ten thousand-dollar hotel property in the heart of Quitman on the condition that a girls industrial school be made of it. The women of Connecticut raised one thousand dollars to equip and convert the hotel into a school, and in

³⁷Ibid., XV (April, 1871), 75; XX (May, 1876), 126; XXI (February, 1877), 1; XXI (April, 1877), 3; XXII (May, 1878), 103-104; XXXIV (January, 1880), 5; XXXV (June, 1881), 112; XXXVI (March, 1882), 66, 80-81; XL (January, 1886), 2-4.

³⁸Emerson had had trouble with the local community from the time it was founded in 1867. Secretary Shipherd had bargained so fiercely with the Freedmen's Bureau when the school began that Mobile was a point of conflict between the Bureau and the Association. Furthermore, the Association early acquired such fine quarters for the school in "Old Blue College" that much local resentment was aroused. In the late 1860's the local authorities attempted to displace the A.M.A. missionaries on the Mobile school board, but this action was prevented by the radical Republican government then in control in Alabama. Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, A Study in Cotton and Steel, pp. 84-86.

October the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls in Georgia was opened. Prior to the opening of school, however, several citizens of Quitman tried to induce the school to move from its central location, but no satisfactory arrangements could be reached. As soon as the Negro students arrived the teachers and students alike were subjected to humiliations and jibes by the local populace. After six weeks of mounting tensions a fire was set in the school during the pre-dawn hours which might well have killed the five teachers and five boarding students residing there. Fortunately the "inmates" were awakened by the "crackling flames," and they were able to save themselves and some clothing. The fire house was one block from the school, but the firemen concentrated their efforts on the adjacent buildings to keep the fire from spreading. After the fire the refugees were ill treated by the residents of Quitman. As a result the school was not rebuilt in that town but was reopened at Thomasville, Georgia, in 1887.³⁹

³⁹American Missionary, XL (January, 1886), 2-5. There was no doubt that the residents of Quitman were bent on ridding themselves of the school. The hotel carriage had not been burned in the fire, and the Association left it in Quitman hoping to sell it. In the spring of 1886 this carriage was driven outside the town, piled with rails, and it too was burned so as to completely rid Quitman of the last vestige of the Yankee industrial school. American Missionary, XL (April, 1886), 131.

Not all Southerners reacted with hostility toward the Yankee teachers and the Association which sent them. In several Southern cities certain leading citizens early realized that the education of the Negro was important and welcomed the efforts of the A.M.A. in that direction. A missionary in Norfolk noted that "the more intelligent classes" were friendly.⁴⁰ However, it was in the heart of the Old South, in Charleston itself, that the Association found its first real encouragement from Southerners. Early in 1866 a committee from the Episcopalian Convention of South Carolina appointed to establish colored schools visited Avery Institute and was much impressed by the order, discipline and ability of the scholars. Included on this committee of four was George A. Trenholm, former Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America. Francis L. Cardozo, a Negro and principal of Avery at the time, was treated with the utmost courtesy by this group and was invited to call on them in order to discuss the educational problem of the Negroes in Charleston. It was probably through these contacts that Cardozo met Governor James L. Orr who proved to be a staunch friend of Negro education in South Carolina.⁴¹ In Georgia

⁴⁰ Ibid., X (January, 1866), 4.

⁴¹ 20th Annual Report (1866), pp. 27-28; American Missionary, XV (June, 1871), 135.

ex-Governor Joseph E. Brown was one of the early friends of Atlanta University. He was the chairman of the first Board of Visitors which recommended continuing the appropriation given to the University by the State of Georgia. He also personally donated two hundred dollars for the support of the University.⁴²

By the early seventies more and more Southerners came to support the idea that Negro education was a necessity, and many began to look with positive favor on the work of the A.M.A. A Lexington, Kentucky, "gentleman" talking to J.A.R. Rogers noted that bi-racial Berea College was becoming generally respected in the Bluegrass region.⁴³ At a conference of A.M.A. missionaries in Atlanta in May, 1875, a general note of optimism was sounded by such men as H. S. Bennett and Adam K. Spence of Fisk, Thomas N. Chase of Atlanta and A. A. Safford of Talladega, all of whom noted an increasing friendliness toward their institutions by leading white citizens. Chase commented, however, that the Atlanta city authorities had "neither erected nor purchased a single building" for a Negro school, but they had "accepted the Storrs building with its teachers from us."⁴⁴

⁴²Atlanta University, Catalogue, 1870-1871 (Atlanta, 1870), p. 5.

⁴³American Missionary, XVII (May, 1873), 101-102.

⁴⁴Ibid., XIX (June, 1875), 127-131.

In 1880 when the First Congregational Church building in Atlanta was dedicated, ex-mayor Calhoun claimed that the "orderly habits" of the Negroes of Atlanta were mainly due to the school and church of the A.M.A.⁴⁵

Although the Episcopalians were perhaps the first of the Southern denominations to appreciate the work that the A.M.A. was doing in Negro education, many Southern Methodists, too, became its warm supporters. When Dr. John B. McFerrin, Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, spoke at the dedication of Jubilee Hall at Fisk in 1876, he insisted that the "intelligent, patriotic and Christian people of the south" with few exceptions, rejoiced "in the education and elevation of the colored people."⁴⁶ Six years later another important Southern Methodist minister, Atticus G. Haygood, was called to administer the John F. Slater Fund, a fund begun by a Congregationalist and devoted entirely to Negro education.

This general acceptance of the A.M.A.'s work by leading Southerners may have been due to the increasing tendency of the Association after 1870 to compromise on the most radical features of its program. The position taken

⁴⁵Ibid., XXXIV (August, 1880), 238; Beard, Crusade of Brotherhood, p. 220.

⁴⁶American Missionary, XX (February, 1876), 36.

by the extreme humanitarian group which had founded, sustained and directed the A.M.A. from 1846 to 1870 was gradually changed in favor of a stand more in keeping with both the attitudes of the South and the desire for peace and prosperity of the dominant orthodox groups of the North. Generally speaking, the 1870's were years of developing conservatism on the part of the Association's leadership and its policies. This trend is not hard to understand when seen within the larger national picture.

In the early 1870's the Association found itself practically alone in the advanced position of advocating radical humanitarian reforms favoring the Negro in the South, and sitting on a virtual volcano of Southern racial passions. Immediately after the war much of the North had stood by the Association in its attempt to redeem the South, but by 1870 the Freedmen's Bureau had nearly suspended activities and the secular freedmen's aid societies had all but ceased to exist. As the seventies dawned the prevailing attitude in the North was one of impatience if not outright hostility toward the Negro. By this time the carpetbag governments were discredited, and the Negro and his radical friends were generally blamed for the continued turmoil in the South.⁴⁷ Important organizations in the North devoted

⁴⁷On these points see Benjamin Smith to Judge Underwood, April 8, 1871, Underwood Papers, Library of Congress, and American Missionary, XV (June, 1871), 135.

to the uplift of humanity withdrew from the position of serving blacks and whites alike. The Y.M.C.A., for example, decided in 1870 to organize chapters in the South on a segregated basis, and voted to strike from the minutes of its annual meeting all references to the sharp debate which resulted from this issue.⁴⁸ The Peabody Fund adopted a policy about this time to pay teachers of Negro schools only two-thirds of the salary given to teachers in white schools.⁴⁹ Thus deserted by many of its former allies and faced with the increased determination of the South to preserve the white man's society, the Association fought on for a time almost alone. By 1871 the A.M.A. looked uncertainly toward the future and pleaded for continued governmental interference to protect and donors to support its position.⁵⁰ Ultimately the A.M.A. drew back to an attitude on race which, although still well in advance of the rest of American society, was behind the one maintained at the height of its activities in the late 1860's.

There seems to be ample ground, then, to support Horace M. Bond's thesis that by 1871 the "education revolution" was lost. From 1861 to 1871 the great crusade

⁴⁸ American Missionary, XIV (September, 1870), 205.

⁴⁹ See above, Chapter VI.

⁵⁰ American Missionary, XV (February, 1871), 26-27; (April, 1871), 84.

led by the Association to bring the Negro into the full stream of American life reached its full strength. Over six million dollars were expended, important colleges were founded and thousands of teachers and missionaries were sent to give of their learning and spirit to the ex-slave. By 1871, however, the North was tired of the "fruitless turmoil" and began to come to tacit agreements with the Southern whites. The effect of most of these compromises, whether political, religious or educational was to leave the Negro to the mercies of the leaders of the "New South." These disciples of Henry Grady and Henry Watterson promised that they would not allow the Negro to fall back into his former condition and that they would prepare the Negro for his new role as a citizen by "gradual" means acceptable to Southern society.⁵¹ The American Missionary Association was one of the last to abandon the Negro, and, even when it had retreated to a somewhat conservative stand by 1880, there were those within the Association who maintained the radical position held in former days. On the whole, however, when the mild lip-service given to the doctrine of egalitarianism which characterizes the Association's policies of

⁵¹Bond bitterly claims that the final result was to deprive the Negro not only of his rights to citizenship but to educational opportunities as well. Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, pp. 82, 127-128.

the eighties is contrasted with the aggressive crusade in favor of bi-racial education which characterizes the attitude of the Association just after the war, the term "compromise" takes on meaning.

In general this developing compromise went through three phases. The first, already discussed, was the period from 1870 through 1873 when the Association found itself alone in its insistence upon racial equality and the target of a bitter attack by Southerners. The period of developing compromise from 1874 through 1876 was followed by a time of uncertainty, a hesitation at dead center from 1877 through the rest of the decade, during which time financial crisis combined with new leadership and national conditions to bring a curtailment of activities. When again the Association entered upon an expanded program in the 1880's, it had accepted the South's segregated pattern and operated generally within it.

As early as 1873 statements began to appear in the Association's propaganda which indicated a willingness to depart from the extreme position insisting upon immediate racial equality. At the opening of that year the Association noted that the days of martyrdom seemed past and "the quiet days of sunshine" seemed to be bringing the seedtime of harvest.⁵² It was believed that a "New South" was

⁵²American Missionary, XVII (January, 1873), 12.

rising which looked toward the restoration of trade and industry, and was determined to restore harmony between the races.⁵³ Actually the greatest danger to America, said an Association pamphlet in 1875, was the "alienation between the North and the South growing out of Negro slavery."⁵⁴ It was claimed that the A.M.A. did not really affirm that races were equal; all it claimed was that "all men shall be regarded as equal before God and the law."⁵⁵ The South, it was asserted, was ready to cooperate with the Association in the "education and elevation" of the Negroes, and in fact favored the employment of students from A.M.A. schools as teachers in the segregated public schools.⁵⁶

This willingness of the South to accept the graduates of the Association's colleges as teachers in the tax supported Negro schools may have been the price the South was willing to pay in order to induce the A.M.A. to give up its campaign for bi-racial schools. Though no specific agreement was made, this seems to have been the bargain struck. It was a Fisk University professor, H. S. Bennett, who was most prominent in suggesting the growing need for

⁵³Ibid., XVIII (February, 1874), 36.

⁵⁴A.M.A., Nation Still in Danger (1875), p. 3.

⁵⁵American Missionary, XXXII (June, 1878), 162.

⁵⁶Ibid., XVIII (January, 1874), 12.

teachers among the "colored people for their own schools."⁵⁷ By 1878 the compromise seems to have been complete, for then the Rev. J. P. Thompson, former pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle and an A.M.A. vice-president, suggested through the pages of the American Missionary that the North should refrain from legislating upon the "social customs, instincts and prejudices" of the South.⁵⁸

During this period the most outstanding spokesman favoring an accommodation between the Association and the South was Samuel C. Armstrong, Principal of Hampton Institute. Although Armstrong began his work with a determination to change much of the Southern way of life, many of the attitudes and the policies he developed were adopted by the South to defend its handling of the race question.⁵⁹ He claimed that the Negro, though capable of acquiring any degree of knowledge, could best build an adequate place for himself in American society if he learned to labor as a skilled workman. The Negro's most crying need, he felt, was for industrial and elementary education. Clearly this education could be obtained for the masses of the Negroes only with Southern support, and this was obtainable only if

⁵⁷Ibid., XVII (October, 1873), 218.

⁵⁸Ibid., XXXII (January, 1878), 15.

⁵⁹Carson, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, p. 129.

the segregation pattern was accepted. "Imitation of Northern models will not do," he asserted, and new answers had to be sought pragmatically rather than dogmatically.⁶⁰ The difficulty with the Negro was not the society which nurtured him, but it was with the Negro himself. His "low ideas of life and duty, his weak conscience, his want of energy and thrift," did not measure up to the middle-class ideals of Armstrong, thus education should be geared not toward overthrowing the racial prejudices of Southern society but toward making the Negro more self-reliant.⁶¹

Because of certain events during the critical years of 1876 and 1877, the conservative ideas of General Armstrong had an especially significant influence upon the A.M.A. First, the ill health and then death of George Whipple, the Senior Secretary of the A.M.A., left the leadership of the Association during the mid-seventies in the untried hands of M. E. Strieby; and secondly, the American Missionary was printed at Hampton during the year

⁶⁰Samuel C. Armstrong, Normal School Work, Among the Freedmen; a Paper by S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton (Virginia) Normal and Agricultural Institute; Read before the National Educational Association, at Boston, August 6th, 1872 (Hampton, 1872), pp. 4-6, 11.

⁶¹American Missionary Association, Educational Work of the American Missionary Association (New York, 1878), p. 3. The first chapter was written by Armstrong.

1877.⁶²

George Whipple had suggested as early as 1870 that the American Missionary, the monthly organ of the A.M.A., might be printed on the Hampton presses at some saving to the Association as well as giving Hampton some additional revenue. Armstrong was not in favor of this arrangement at first,⁶³ but early in 1876 when the Association was deeply in debt he took up the suggestion with enthusiasm.⁶⁴ Accordingly the details were worked out, and in January, 1877, the American Missionary began appearing from Hampton. Ordinarily such a change of printer might not have been so important, but at this time Secretary Strieby was not only bereaved by Mr. Whipple's death, he was also burdened with the double load of being the only Corresponding Secretary of the society. With the presses in Hampton the result was that many proofs were never read in New York, and last minute editorials were written by Hampton people. For all practical purposes General Armstrong became the editor of the American Missionary in 1877.

⁶²The American Missionary was printed in New York during the whole of its history from the 1840's until the 1930's save for this year, 1877.

⁶³Armstrong to Whipple, October 31, 1870, A.M.A. Archives.

⁶⁴Armstrong to Strieby, February 1, 1876, A.M.A. Archives.

The influence of Armstrong upon the American Missionary can be seen clearly. For example, an article by Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College and a close friend of Armstrong, advised that the main responsibility for educating the Negro rested upon the Southerner.⁶⁵ Another article written by a Northern minister told of the "ragged, unclean . . . shiftless" Negro in Richmond.⁶⁶ Armstrong himself defended a speech made at the Annual Meeting of the A.M.A. by Colonel J. T. L. Preston, a Southerner, which shocked many friends of the Association. Preston's defense of slavery contained a "half truth," Armstrong claimed, at least the Negro in America was better off under slavery than the Negro in Africa.⁶⁷ Concerning the political situation the 1877 American Missionary advised its constituents to accept the President's withdrawal of troops from the South, and to assume that "he honestly intends the good of the freedmen."⁶⁸ The "political race-struggle" was over, it was claimed, and a peace was now to settle over the South giving both Negro and white a "respite from strife."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ American Missionary, I (May, 1877), 5.

⁶⁶ Ibid., I (November, 1877), 6.

⁶⁷ Ibid., I (December, 1877), 2.

⁶⁸ Ibid., I (July, 1877), 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid., I (October, 1877), 4.

In 1878 the printing of the American Missionary returned to New York, and the sentiment in its editorials more nearly parallels those of the early 1870's than the ideas expressed on its pages in 1877.⁷⁰

However, the Association as a whole came to accept Armstrong's general sentiments in the late 1870's. Secretary Strieby, for example, indicated in 1878 that the foundation of all progress for the Negro depended upon his own industry.⁷¹ In the midst of the great migration of Negroes to Kansas in 1878 and 1879 caused by the return of the Gulf States to white rule, the Association, perhaps having in mind the great educational buildings it had erected in the South, commented that the mass of the Negroes really belonged in the South.⁷²

The effect of the large debt under which the Association had labored in the 1870's left a permanent scar upon the A.M.A., for once the debt was cleared the Association's leadership was overly-cautious about not incurring a new one. Its policies were conservative and opportunistic, moving a little at a time and in the line of least

⁷⁰See Ibid., XXXII (1878).

⁷¹Michael E. Strieby, A Half a Generation's Work Among the Freedmen of the U.S. (New York, 1878), p. 7.

⁷²American Missionary, XXXIII (May, 1879), 133-34.

resistance.⁷³ Moreover, the Association worked out an appeal for its educational institutions in the South which at once strengthened its existing interests and accepted the South's pattern of segregation. By accepting a separate but equal doctrine the A.M.A. developed effective appeal for strengthening the colleges it had founded for the Negro to make them comparable with the best white schools.⁷⁴ The decision in 1880 to have stronger A.M.A.-founded institutions⁷⁵ make a separate appeal for endowments also fits into the pattern of compromise. Each of the chartered schools was given some local autonomy to seek its own future, and in this way local rights were recognized and each institution left to meet its specific problems in ways it deemed best.⁷⁶

As a further indication of the willingness of the Association to withdraw on its aggressively pro-Negro policies, the A.M.A. moved with some rapidity into non-Negro areas of home missions during the 1880's. In 1882

⁷³ Ibid., XXXIV (January, 1880), 2-3. By 1880 more money was available, but it was so appropriated that a few dollars was added to all existing items, and no new ventures became evident except the African evangelization scheme of 1879 to 1886 which ended in a blind alley.

⁷⁴ American Missionary, XXXIV (November, 1880), 332.

⁷⁵ Hampton, Atlanta, Fisk and Talladega.

⁷⁶ While Hampton moved in a conservative direction, Atlanta, Fisk and Talladega were able to move in a generally

four missions near Berea, Kentucky, were begun among the people of the Southern Appalachians. This work soon spread to become second in importance only to the Negro work.⁷⁷ The work for the Chinese in California initiated in 1869 never became very large, but the missions among the Indians begun at about the same time were greatly expanded in 1883 when the Association took over the Dakota missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1885 fifty-two teachers and seven ministers were supported in five churches and fifteen schools among the Indians of North America.⁷⁸

Perhaps the best explanation of the Association's new conservatism was made by Secretary Strieby in 1886 when he claimed that the Association had been "conservatively Christian" even in its abolitionist days. When the A.M.A. went into the South to uplift the Negro, its main motives were, Strieby insisted, to convince Southern whites of the "equal manhood of both races," and to gain the cooperation of the Southern whites in elevating the Negro. Actually,

liberal direction.

⁷⁷American Missionary, XXXVI (August, 1882), 227. By 1890 perhaps one hundred missionaries were laboring for the Association in this area. In the early 1890's the major expansion of the A.M.A.'s activities was in the Southern Appalachians.

⁷⁸American Missionary, XXXIX (November, 1885), 313. In 1885 the Association also supported thirty-eight missionaries and teachers among the Chinese on the West Coast.

he claimed, the work of the Association in the South was with both races.⁷⁹

Despite the tendency of the Association as a whole to compromise in the 1880's, there were those supporting the A.M.A. who staunchly continued to follow the radical humanitarian principles which had been advocated at an earlier time. In points of specific policy the Association throughout its history held to the position that its schools should admit all persons regardless of race. As late as 1888 in a case involving the admission of a Negro to the Sunday school in Williamsburg, Kentucky, a mountain community, the Executive Committee of the Association declared that it could not give its support to any institution which excluded anyone on the grounds of race or color.⁸⁰ Although the Association in the 1880's seldom spoke of the "great boon" of integrated schools as they had during Reconstruction,⁸¹ it did quietly witness against

⁷⁹American Missionary, XL (December, 1886), 361-66. It must be remembered, however, that this was written under the strain of the "color-line debate" relative to the organization of churches in the South by the A.M.A. and the American Home Missionary Society described in Chapter IV. These statements may not have accurately reflected Strieby's real views on the historical role of the Association.

⁸⁰American Missionary Association Executive Committee, Minutes, September, 1879 to March, 1889, pp. 418-419.

⁸¹American Missionary, XVIII (March, 1874), 60.

caste in America,⁸² in matters of basic policy and general interest.

Some persons and groups associated with the A.M.A. staunchly held to radical and egalitarian beliefs even after the compromise was effected. During their tours in the 1870's the Jubilee Singers of Fisk aggressively sought and generally received equal treatment in the North and in Europe. Many incidents occurred when they were refused hotel or dining accommodations, only to be sympathetically helped out of their difficulties by the "better folks" of the community.⁸³ Hampton also sent singers on tour of the North, and they too generally obtained equal treatment. In 1888 the American Missionary proudly carried a glowing account of how Negro ministers on their way to a Georgia Congregational Association meeting traveled on first class railway cars from Jessup to Macon, Georgia.⁸⁴ In the late 1880's, too, the Association cooperated closely with George W. Cable in distributing some of his writings favoring Negro rights. Cable, a Congregationalist, showed considerable interest in the activities of the A.M.A. including

⁸²Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1882), 391.

⁸³J. B. T. Marsh, The Story of the Jubilee Singers With Their Songs (Boston, 1880), pp. 6, 39-46.

⁸⁴American Missionary, XLII (January, 1888), 4-5.

visits to Berea College and Atlanta University and attendance at several annual meetings of the Association.⁸⁵

Thus there were those who felt that the Association still exhibited "The simple spirit of the Master in its original and energetic" if not radical form.⁸⁶

On the whole, however, the society which had entered the decade of the 1870's full of humanitarian zeal and a determination to give the Negro a just place in American life left that same decade a rather prosperous but conservative society. Gone was its pioneering spirit when the A.M.A. plunged whole-heartedly into a quest for an ideal. Depression and declining income, terror and compromise, the death of both friendly society and fatherly leader,⁸⁷

⁸⁵American Missionary, XXXIX (March, 1885), 100; (August, 1885), 221; (December, 1885), 355. See also Arlin Turner, George W. Cable, a Biography (Durham, 1956), pp. 254, 258.

The Association was particularly enthusiastic about three of Cable's articles: "The Freedmen's Cause in Equity," which appeared in Century Magazine in 1885, "The Negro Question" published by the A.M.A. in 1888, and "What the North must Learn," published by the A.M.A. from Mr. Cable's speech before the annual meeting of the Association in 1890. See the reviews of the first two articles which appear in the American Missionary, XXXIX (October, 1885), 275; and XLII (June, 1888), 154.

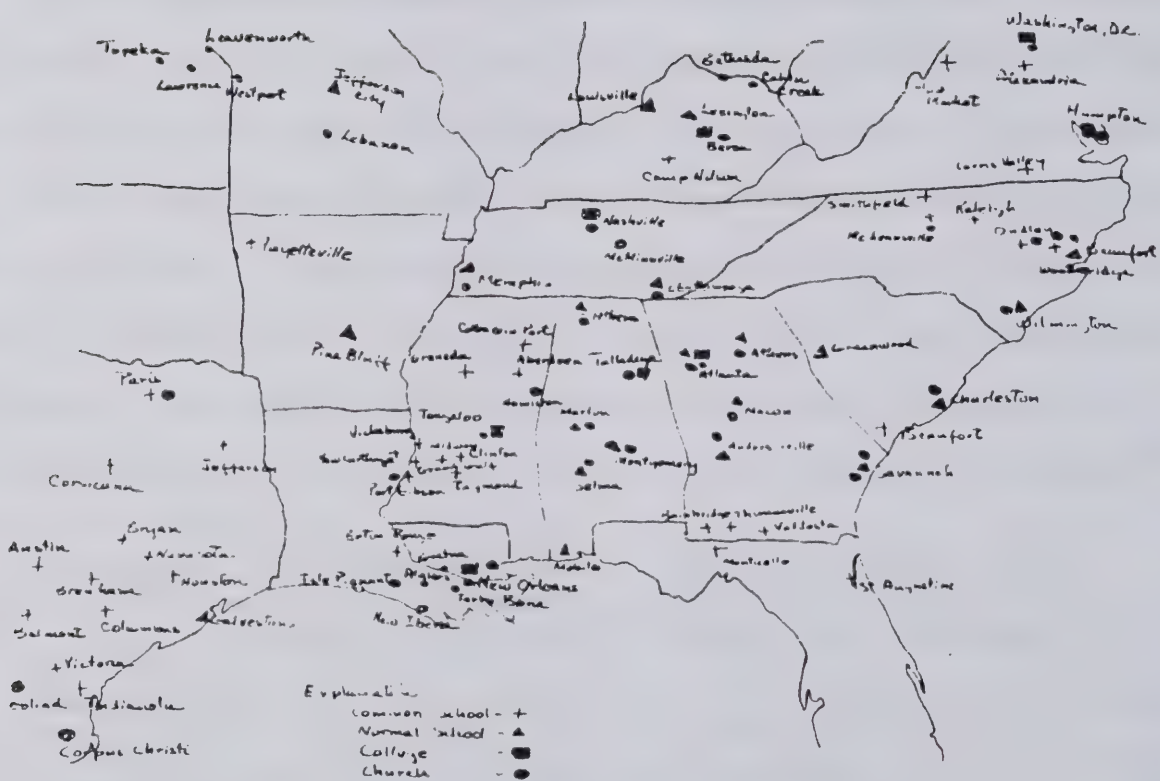
⁸⁶American Missionary, XLII (June, 1888), 156-61. The quotations are from a speech by a Rev. J. W. Cooper. There is considerable similarity between these sentiments and those sentiments later proposed by a vice-president of the A.M.A., Washington Gladden, under the banner of the social gospel.

⁸⁷This refers to the failure of the various freedmen's aid societies of the A.F.U.C. in the late 1860's and early

all had left their mark on the Association. When prosperity returned and revenues again flowed in broad streams into the Association's treasury, something of the old daring and zeal ^{wide} were missing. The radical Association of the fifties and sixties became in the eighties a cautious defender of its vested interests--the ideal had become institutionalized.

1870's, the end of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872, and the death of George Whipple in 1876.

MAP OF A. M. A. ACTIVITIES IN 1873



From American Missionary, XVI (September, 1873), 190-191.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES

The principal body of primary source materials upon which this study was based was the American Missionary Association Archives at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. These papers, perhaps one of the major sources for understanding the missionary, social and intellectual life of the United States from 1839 to 1879, have been open to the public since 1943, but as yet their general condition discourages extensive use. Because of the lack of funds and of continuing personnel, Fisk University has processed and indexed imperfectly only those items that may have been called for from time to time. Mr. Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petrie of New York City was secured by the American Missionary Association in 1943 to make a study of its old files which the Association was on the verge of destroying. Mr. Rumball-Petrie prepared a report in June of 1943 which described the forty-six chests of material before it was shipped to Fisk. His typewritten report, "American Missionary Association Directory," is still the principal description of the papers. Arna Bontemps, Librarian of Fisk University, prepared a twelve-page brochure in 1947 entitled American Missionary Association

Archives in Fisk University Library, but this work was drawn largely from Mr. Rumball-Petrie's study.

The material from the American Missionary Association Archives which I examined with some care involved about one half the material processed up to early summer of 1956. I examined the letters and documents from 1860 to 1879 which concerned the Southern field. The records of the Cincinnati District Office were generally more complete than those of the Central Office in New York. There were no records from the Chicago District Office.

Since the A.M.A. Archives at Fisk have no materials beyond 1879, I was forced to rely heavily upon the "American Missionary Association Executive Committee Minutes, September, 1879-March, 1889," found in the offices of the American Missionary Association in New York City. Also at the A.M.A. Central Office were a "Memoranda of Estates, 1856-1868, American Missionary Association," in Lewis Tappan's handwriting, an "Account Book of Special Funds, 1876-1883, American Missionary Association," and "Estates and Legacies, 1815-1910, American Missionary Association."

Certain other manuscript material proved most helpful, especially the Major General Oliver Otis Howard Papers at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, which includes about sixty linear feet of Howard's personal files. The forty-seven volumes of correspondence which covers his period as

Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau is excellently indexed and easily used.

The Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 5, in the National Archives in Washington, D.D., have a wealth of material. Thus far I have only sampled from it entries 145, 148, 152-156 and 162. These include such titles as "Letters Sent, 1866-1868;" "Letters of Appointment, 1869-1870;" "Letters Received, 1866-1870," and "Papers Relating to Education, 1866-1870."

Three collections of materials at the Library of Congress in the Manuscript Division were invaluable for certain aspects of this study. The Lewis Tappan Papers gave insights into the attitudes of this great treasurer of the A.M.A. in the 1850's and 1860's. The Benjamin F. Butler Papers furnished the bulk of the material on the opening of the Association's work at Fort Monroe. Finally, the several letters of Samuel C. Armstrong in the James A. Garfield Papers provided some of the most significant insights into Hampton's early problems that Armstrong was forced to face.

The Daniel C. Gilman Papers at Yale University yielded some interesting letters written during the war from the youthful Henry S. DeForest, later President of Talladega. The Ichabod Washburn Papers at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, provided some

significant materials on the reasons for and destination of the philanthropies of a New England industrialist closely associated with the A.M.A.

Several other manuscript collections consulted provided very little pertinent information for this study. Such collections in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division were: the Robert C. Ogden Papers; the Joshua Leavitt Papers; the United States Sanitary Commission, 1863-1865, Clippings; the George Hay Stuart Papers; the American Colonization Society Papers; and the Rutherford B. Hayes Papers. At Oberlin College the Charles Finney Papers, the James Harris Fairchild Papers and the James Monroe Papers provided only a little useful material. The Samuel Chapman Armstrong Papers at Williams College were most disappointing for my purposes, as was the personal collection of Jocelyn materials owned by Mr. Foster W. Rice of Rowayton, Connecticut. Also of negligible value to me were the Charles Sumner Papers and the Charles Eliot Norton Papers at the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

Of the periodicals used The American Missionary, published by the Association from 1846 to 1930, was by far the most useful. Published monthly, each issue was filled with reports from the field, financial appeals, statistics of work done, and discussions of the problems of the Association. The Annual Reports of the A.M.A., which generally

appeared in the December number of the American Missionary, were heavily relied upon for concise statements and evaluations of each year's activities. Also consulted were The American Freedman, the organ of the American Freedman's Union Commission, published from 1866 to 1869; The National Freedman, published from 1865 to 1869 by the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York; and The Freedman's Record produced irregularly from 1865 to 1872 by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, periodicals similar to the American Missionary in scope, but highlighting the work of the societies which published them. The Annual Reports from 1876 to 1887 of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church proved to have very interesting comparative materials.

Probably the best history of the A.M.A. to date is by one of the Association's Corresponding Secretaries, Augustus Field Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood; a History of the American Missionary Association, Boston (Pilgrim Press), 1909. Beard's treatment of the problems of administration and of the opening of new fields is surprisingly thorough, and I have relied upon him often for his important insights. The recent book by Fred L. Brownlee, New Day Ascending, Boston (Pilgrim Press), 1946, is too highly promotional and purely anecdotal to provide a clear picture. Harlan Paul Douglass' Christian Reconstruction in the South,

Boston (Pilgrim Press), 1909, is more than just a history of the A.M.A., though the work of the A.M.A. figures prominently in its pages.

The American Missionary Association has been the topic for occasional studies of a scholarly nature. Lloyd Vincent Hennings wrote a master's thesis entitled, "The American Missionary Association, a Christian Anti-Slavery Society," (M.A. thesis, Oberlin College, 1933), in which he concentrates on the anti-slavery activities of the A.M.A. in the years between 1846 and 1863. At the present time three Ph.D. dissertations are in process on various A.M.A. topics. Besides this study, Joseph N. Patterson at Cornell University is studying the A.M.A.'s contribution to Negro higher education and Clifford H. Johnson at the University of North Carolina is working on the A.M.A.'s activities prior to Emancipation.

From time to time the Association itself has seen fit to print promotional histories of a less inclusive nature than the ones by Beard, Brownlee and Douglass mentioned above. This was especially true of the nineteenth century which produced a legion of histories such as Lewis Tappan's History of the American Missionary Association: its Constitution and Principles, published in 1855; a revised and enlarged edition of the original Tappan history entitled, History of the American Missionary Association, Its

Constitution and Principles, which appeared in 1860; and a three-page pamphlet by the Boston District Secretary of the A.M.A., Charles Louis Woodworth, written in 1866, The American Missionary Association; Its Work Among the Freedmen. The histories which followed these earliest efforts were more specifically concerned with the developing educational work among the Negroes in the South. The first of these, the History of the American Missionary Association: Its Churches and Educational Institutions Among the Freedmen, Indians and Chinese, with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes appeared in 1874 and gives an excellent picture of the Association's work in the early 1870's. The Nation Still in Danger; or, Ten Years After the War, A Plea by the American Missionary Association with Confirmatory Articles by T. D. Woolsey, Frederick Douglass, Washington Gladden, D. H. Chamberlain and J. P. Hawley, printed in 1876, though of considerable interest, is purely promotional and gives a very warped picture. Prior to 1878 when the Association's Senior Secretary, Michael E. Strieby, wrote A Half Generation's Work Among the Freedmen of the U.S., the so-called "histories" had merely added to Lewis Tappan's original story. Strieby's 1878 history was a rather complete revision and remained the standard account of the A.M.A. until 1891. The Educational Work of the American Missionary Association, describing the existing work of the

Association, also appeared from the Association's New York offices in 1878. In 1886 a rehash of the 1878 history entitled History of Forty Years of Missionary Labor, 1846 to 1886 was published, as was Corresponding Secretary' Powell's purely promotional American Missionary Association; Development of its Work, Paper presented at the National Council, Chicago, October 14, 1886. These tracts were followed by others such as M. E. Strieby, The American Missionary Association; Its Place and Work, Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association at Chicago, Illinois, October 30, 1889; The Administration of the American Missionary Association Reprinted from the Congregationalists of October 10, 1895; and Augustus Field Beard, American Missionary Association: Statement of its Work, Read at the National Council, October 12, 1889. The ninety-six page History of the American Missionary Association with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes printed by the Association in 1891 was the first comprehensive attempt to write an inclusive history, and remains next to the later Beard study the best history of the Association. Before Beard completed his study in 1909, two District Secretaries published helpful pamphlets—Charles Jackson Ryder, Secretarial Paper, The Inlook and the Outlook of the American Missionary Association (ca. 1905), and J. W. Cooper, Sixty Years and Beyond (ca. 1906). Another undated

study from early in the twentieth century is the Brief History and Constitution of the American Missionary Association and By Laws of the Executive Committee.

More specific studies about particular aspects of the A.M.A.'s work are Fred London, The Work of the American Missionary Association Among the Negro Refugees in Canada West, 1848-1864 ([?]); Michael E. Strieby, Oberlin and the American Missionary Association (Oberlin), 1891; and Course of Study for the Schools of the American Missionary Association Adopted by the Executive Committee October 2, 1883, with General Suggestions to Teachers Prepared by Albert Salisbury, A.M., Superintendent of Education, A.M.A. (Atlanta), 1883. The Jubilee Singers were first treated by District Secretary G. D. Pike who served as business manager on their first trip to England. Secretary Pike wrote two books, The Jubilee Singers and Their Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars, Boston (Lee and Shepherd), 1873; and The Singing Campaign for Ten Thousand Pounds; or the Jubilee Singers in Great Britain; with an Appendix containing Slave Songs Compiled and Arranged by Theodore F. Seward, New York (American Missionary Association), 1875. These were followed by J. B. T. Marsh's inclusive study, The Story of the Jubilee Singers with Their Songs, Boston (Houghton, Mifflin), 1880, still the standard history of the singers. The Association published several pamphlets

on Women's Work including Women's Work for the Lowly, As Illustrated in the Work of the American Missionary Association Among the Freedmen (1873), and The First Woman's Missionary Bureau and Freedwomen of the South; both produced by the Bureau of Women's Work of the A.M.A. in the 1880's.

In placing the American Missionary Association in its general historical setting I have relied heavily upon the interpretation of the abolitionist crusade found in Gilbert H. Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844, New York (Appleton-Century), 1933; Dwight L. Dumond, Anti-Slavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States, Ann Arbor (University of Michigan), 1939, and Barnes and Dumond, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844, New York (Appleton-Century), 1934. I am, however, aware of the recent re-interpretive studies coming out of William B. Hesseltine's seminars at the University of Wisconsin such as Hazel Catherine Wolf's On Freedom's Altar, The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement, Madison (University of Wisconsin Press), 1952.

CHAPTER ONE

The most widely accepted interpretation of the material in this chapter is found in Julius H. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1861-1871," Negro Education: a Study of the

Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Vol. I, pp. 268-295, Washington (U.S. Government Printing Office), 1917. I have relied heavily upon this study although it almost completely ignores the various religious freedmen's aid societies. The burden of Parmelee's account, in fact, is drawn from research on the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. Most of the research for the present study has been in A.M.A. materials, but I drew also from studies made on other denominational societies such as F. C. Anscombe, "The Contributions of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the South," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1924); Ralph Ernst Morrow, "The Methodist Episcopal Church, the South, and Reconstruction, 1865-1880," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1954); Robert Andrew Baker, "The American Baptist Home Mission Society and the South, 1832-1894," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1947); John Eaton, The Presbyterian Churches and Education, Philadelphia (Presbyterian Board of Publications), 1898; and the brief Richard Sutton Rust, The Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati (Tract Department of the Methodist Episcopal Church), 1880. More inclusive is the rather hostile Oliver Saxon Heckman, "Northern Church Penetration of the South, 1860-1880," (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1939). One of the

most satisfactory treatments of the various benevolent societies before 1882 was prepared by Secretary Michael E. Strieby of the A.M.A. for the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge and appeared in the American Missionary, XXXVII (February, 1883), 47-49. Although this article emphasizes the work of the denominational societies, the secular societies are dealt with quite adequately. There is also a fairly sizeable literature written by and about missionaries to the freedmen. Henry Lee Swint's, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870, Nashville (Vanderbilt University Press), 1941, is the most important study of the broad problem, although it raises as many questions as it solves. Swint is able to successfully document the abolitionist sentiments of most of the "school-marms," but he leaves unsolved their influence upon the hostile South. Other titles consulted were Edward L. Pierce's two articles, "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," Atlantic Monthly, VIII (1861), pp. 630-636, and "The Freedmen at Port Royal," Atlantic Monthly, XII (1863), pp. 291-315, and Mrs. Laura Smith Haviland's, A Woman's Life-work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland, Cincinnati (Walden and Stowe), 1882.

The principal sources relied upon for the story of the rivalry between the A.M.A. and the American Freedmen's Union Commission were the A.M.A. Archives and The American

Missionary. Also consulted were Lyman Abbott, Reminiscences, Boston (Houghton Mifflin), 1923, Ira V. Brown, Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist: A Study in Religious Liberalism, Cambridge (Harvard University Press), 1953, and the very interesting book by John C. Holbrook who represented the A.M.A. in England entitled Recollections of a Nonagenarian of Life in New England, The Middle West, and New York, Including a Mission to Great Britain in Behalf of the Southern Freedmen, Together with Scenes in California, Boston (Pilgrim Press), 1897.

CHAPTER TWO

George R. Bentley's, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau, Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press), 1955, is the standard work on the Bureau, although it contains nothing essentially different from the much older book by Paul S. Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction, Iowa City (State University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics and History, Volume VIII, No. 1), 1904. Neither of these studies specifically mentions the role of the A.M.A. in the policy making decisions of the Bureau, although both, of course, mention the testimony of Mr. Whipple at the second Howard trial which indicated a close working arrangement between the Bureau and the Association. Of particular pertinence

to the material in this chapter was volume two of the Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General United States Army, New York (Barker and Taylor), 1908. Although John A. Carpenter's, "An Account of the Civil War Career of Oliver Otis Howard Based on his Private Letters," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954), covers only one phase of General Howard's life, I found it helpful in attempting to understand Howard's motivating forces. Basically, however, I drew on the personal letters between General Howard, J. W. Alvord and the members of the A.M.A.'s staff which were found in the A.M.A. Archives at Fisk University and the Howard Papers at Bowdoin College.

Considering the importance of Samuel Chapman Armstrong in the education of both the South and the Negro, a surprisingly small literature has sprung up about him. Hampton Institute has published several Founder's Day Addresses which concerned Armstrong, many of these by very prominent people including Robert C. Ogden and William Howard Taft. Armstrong's eldest daughter, Edith Armstrong Talbot, wrote Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study, New York (Doubleday, Page), 1904, but no really serious biography was attempted until Suzanne Catherine Carson's "Samuel Chapman Armstrong: Missionary to the South," (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1952). Miss Carson's study, however, is quite uneven and

at times inconsistent, although it leans toward an economic interpretation of Armstrong's career.

For information on the Freedmen's Savings Bank I drew heavily upon both Walter L. Fleming's, The Freedmen's Savings Bank; a Chapter in the Economic History of the Negro Race, Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina Press), 1927, and W. E. Burghardt DuBois, "The Freedmen's Savings Bank" on pages 277 to 299, Anthology of American Negro Literature edited by Sylvestre C. Watkins, New York (Random House, The Modern Library), 1944.

CHAPTER THREE

The principal integrated treatment of the administration of the Association will be found in Augustus Field Beard's, Crusade of Brotherhood. But the fascinating details of policy making and personnel difficulties are only to be found sprinkled through the pages of the American Missionary and the letters in the A.M.A. Archives. Of little help were Phyllis Mary Bannon, "Arthur and Lewis Tappan; a Study in New York Religious and Reform Movements," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1950); David O. Mears, Life of Edward Norris Kirk, D.D., Boston (Lockwood, Brooks and Co.), 1878; John C. Holbrook, Recollections of a Nonagenarian; American Missionary Association, A Sketch of the Life of Mr. Daniel Hand, and

of his Benefaction to the American Missionary Association for the Education of the Colored People in the Southern States of America, New York (The A.M.A.), 1889. Of some pertinence to this chapter were the various accounts mentioned above, especially the inclusive and very helpful History of the American Missionary Association, printed in 1891, The Administration of the American Missionary Association, published in 1895, and Strieby's Oberlin and the American Missionary Association.

CHAPTER FOUR

Thus far the most satisfactory book on Southern Congregationalism is Frank Edwin Jenkins', Anglo-Saxon Congregationalism in the South, Atlanta (Franklin, Turner), 1908. As the title suggests Dr. Jenkins' main interest was in the development of the white churches, and the account suffers from his hostility toward an integrated southern church. The standard histories of American Congregationalism—Albert E. Dunning, Congregationalists in America, New York (J. A. Hill), 1894; Williston Walker, A History of the Congregational Churches in America, Vol. III of American Church History, New York (Scribner's), 1916; and Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism, Boston (Pilgrim Press), 1942—do not deal satisfactorily with

Congregationalism south of the Ohio River. However a few brief treatments have dealt with the portion of this story involving the development of Negro Congregational churches. The A.M.A.'s twenty-four page pamphlet published in 1883, History of the Church Work of the American Missionary Association is the best of these studies. John W. Cromwell, "First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," Journal of Negro History, VII (1922), pp. 64-106; W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro Church, Atlanta (Atlanta University), 1903; A. A. Taylor, "The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction," Journal of Negro History, IX (1924), pp. 241-364, 381-564; and Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church, Washington (Associated), 1945, all deal briefly with Negro Congregationalism. However, the pages of the American Missionary, have been the most useful source for my purposes. Even the various A.M.A. histories have generally had little material on this subject.

CHAPTER FIVE

Since the foundation of the various Negro schools was the most significant tangible result of the A.M.A.'s labors among the ex-slaves, the several histories of the A.M.A. have treated this subject with some detail. Beard, Brownlee and Douglass all have given considerable attention

to it. By far the best general study of Negro higher education is Dwight O. W. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College, New York (Teachers College, Columbia University), 1934. More specifically on secondary education are George S. Dickerman, "History of Negro Education," Negro Education; a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Vol. I, pp. 244-268, Washington (U. S. Government Printing Office), 1917; and Loretta Funke, "The Negro in Education," Journal of Negro History, V (1920), pp. 1-21. All these general studies of Negro education place the A.M.A. founded institutions in a prominent place.

Most of the colleges founded by the A.M.A. have not yet been adequately interpreted. Elisabeth S. Peck's Berea's First Century, 1855-1955, Lexington (University of Kentucky Press), 1955, is excellent and the only study of an individual A.M.A. college that is adequate. Hampton's historians have been more prolific, but no really good study has yet been produced. This school published in 1893, Twenty-Two Year's Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute; Records of Negro and Indian Graduates; L. P. Jackson had a brief article in the Journal of Negro History, X (1925), pp. 131-149, entitled "The Origin of Hampton Institute." Francis Greenwood Peabody's Education for Life, The Story of Hampton

Institute, Told in Connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the School, New York (Doubleday, Page), 1918, remains the best history of Hampton, but it is quite a pedestrian performance. Myron Winslow Adams' A History of Atlanta University, Atlanta (Atlanta University Press), 1930, is only slightly better than Peabody's study as a college history. A book entitled From Servitude to Service, Being the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro published in Boston by the American Unitarian Association in 1905 contains promotional accounts of four A.M.A. schools, including an article on Berea College by President William G. Frost, one on Hampton Institute by Armstrong's successor, H. B. Frissel, another on Atlanta University by W. E. B. DuBois and the last concerned with Fisk University by President James G. Merrill.

Each of the colleges originally founded by the A.M.A. has printed historical material in various of its bulletins and catalogues. Perhaps Fred L. Brownlee's "Dillard University Up to 1945" in The Dillard Bulletin, X, 1 (October, 1945), which tells something of Straight University, is the best of these. But to date Fisk, Talladega, Tougaloo, Straight, Tillotson, and LeMoyne of the existing colleges founded by the A.M.A. are awaiting adequate histories. Dr. Alrutheus A. Taylor just prior to his death in 1954

had put a large history of Fisk in manuscript form, but I have been unable to find it. I am told, also, that Rev. W. A. Bender in Tougaloo, Mississippi, is in process of writing a history of Tougaloo Southern Christian College.

CHAPTER SIX

The most penetrating analysis of the role of the Reconstruction governments and northern benevolent societies in building the South's educational system can be found in Horace Mann Bond's Negro Education in Alabama, A Study in Cotton and Steel, Washington (Associated), 1939, and his The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, New York (Prentice Hall), 1934. The position taken by Edgar Wallace Knight in his Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South, New York (Teachers College, Columbia University), 1913, and "The Messianic Invasion of the South After 1865" in School and Society, June 5, 1943, pp. 645-651, seems to largely ignore the positive contributions made to public education by Reconstruction governments, and to make overly glib assumptions that the South would have adopted public education without Northern prodding. (See footnote, pages 191-192 of this dissertation).

In another category are those historians who admit that reconstruction governments did, indeed, make some

positive contribution to Southern institutions, but who completely overlook the place of Northern religious missionary work in this process. Such a work is T. E. McKinney's "Significant Developments in the Higher Education of Negroes Since 1863" found in the Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes, XVI (January, 1948), pp. 28-33, which passes off the influence of the various benevolent societies as mere subsidiaries of the Freedmen's Bureau. W. E. B. DuBois' The Negro Common School, Atlanta (Atlanta University Press), 1901, tends to fall into this error also.

Many of the misconceptions about the importance of the Foundations as originators of a policy for Negro education were begun by J. L. M. Curry's Education of the Negro Since 1860, New York (Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund), 1894. In fact both the Peabody and the Slater Funds were not averse to printing self-congratulatory pamphlets which enjoyed wide circulation and acceptance. Unfortunately scholars have not often delved beneath the contentions contained in these studies. More often than not these studies defended a specific point of view or explained a position rather than dispassionately reviewing the situation as it was. Curry's Difficulties, Complications and Limitations Connected with the Education of the Negro, Baltimore (Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund), 1895, and

Atticus G. Haygood, The Case of the Negro as to Education in the Southern States, A Report to the Board of Trustees of John F. Slater Fund, Atlanta (Harrison), 1885, are such studies. This over-emphasis upon the role of the foundations and ignoring the role of the benevolent societies has been taken up by the serious scholars of the foundations including Abraham Flexner, Funds and Foundations, New York (Harper), 1952; Ernest Victor Hollis, Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education, New York (Columbia University Press), 1938; Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education, Nashville (Peabody College), 1930; and Jesse B. Sears, Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education, Washington (U.S. Government Printing Office), 1922.

I found much of the material printed by the Foundations highly useful where it was confined to the events and activities of the Foundations themselves. Such publications as J. L. M. Curry, A Brief Sketch of George Peabody and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years, Cambridge (John Wilson and Son), 1898; John F. Slater Fund, Organization of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1882, Baltimore (Murphy), 1882; Southern Education Foundation, Biennial Report for 1950-51-1951-52, Atlanta (Southern Education Foundation), 1952; and Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for

the Education of Freedmen, 1883-1888, Hampton (Hampton N. and A. I. Press), 1883-1888, were indispensable in finding the story of the foundations themselves. I have not been able as yet to utilize fully the excellent study by Franklin Parker, "George Peabody," Nashville (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College, 1956).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Again in this chapter I found myself in general agreement with the interpretation made by Horace Mann Bond, in his Negro Education in Alabama and The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. He is the only historian thus far who has placed the benevolent societies in anything close to what I believe was their role in Reconstruction America. Henry Lee Swint's The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870 is excellent as far as it goes. As Mr. Swint notes, it is an "introductory statement," and really raises more questions of a general nature than it attempts to answer. Although Swint clearly demonstrates that most Northern teachers came from abolitionist backgrounds, and that Southerners generally reacted in a hostile way against them, he merely scratches the surface in attempting to assess the influence of the Yankee teachers on the total post-war picture in the South. Walter L. Fleming and other Dunning historians have been

so busy damning the black and tan governments that they have been blinded to the positive achievements of the benevolent associations, and many who see the period in some balance such as Francis B. Simkins and Robert A. Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction, Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina Press), 1932, have almost completely overlooked the Northern missionary societies. Negro historians, although they defend the Republican regimes in the 1860's and 1870's, have also ignored their missionary tutors sent from the North. This may be said especially of W. E. B. DuBois' works and somewhat of John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom, A History of American Negroes, New York (Knopf), 1948. Carter G. Woodson's, The Negro in Our History, Washington (Associated Publishers), 1928, is only slightly more satisfactory on this point.

C. Vann Woodward's Origins of the New South, 1877-1913, Volume IX in History of the South, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, Baton Rouge (Louisiana State University Press), 1951, surprisingly, has a most unsatisfactory treatment of the rise of public education in the South. Evidently enamored with the compromise pattern he saw present in 1877 between the Southern Redeemers and Northern industrialists, he accepted the researches referred to above concerning the Foundations

where this pattern of accommodation can easily be seen. The result is that Woodward ignores the positive contributions of the radical governments and the educational foundations laid by the Freedmen's Bureau and the benevolent societies in favor of the glamor of the gifts of George Peabody, John F. Slater and John D. Rockefeller.

TABLE I*

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES OF THE BENEVOLENT AID SOCIETIES
CONTRIBUTING TO NEGRO EDUCATION,
1861 - 1889

<u>Society</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>
Bureau of R., F., and A. L.	1865-1871	\$5,262,500.00#
American Missionary Assn.	1861-1889	6,770,387.13#
DENOMINATIONAL SOCIETIES		
Am. Baptist Home Miss. Soc.	1864-1889	2,100,000.00#
Fr. Aid Soc. of the Methodist Episcopal Church	1866-1889	2,500,000.00#
Presbyterian	1865-1889	1,500,000.00#
(Gen. Comm. for Freedmen's Affairs 1865-1885)		
Board of Miss. for Freedmen after 1885 - 1889)		
Friends	1862-1889	600,000.00#
(FAAF of Phil. 1862-1869)		
FRA of Phil. 1863-1867		
Other Friends Societies 1862-1889)		
African Methodist Episcopal Church society	1868 (1 yr.)	53,737.00
Colored Presbyterians	1865-1866 (1 yr.)	3,174.00
FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES (Most of them were members of the American Freedmen's Union Commission)		
New England Freedmen's A. S. Branches	1862-1874 1863-1869	530,219.00 14,004.00
National Freedmen's Relief Assn. of New York	1862-1866	539,864.00
Penna. Freedmen's Relief Assn. (Philadelphia)	1862-1866	276,807.00
Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (Cincinnati)	1864-1867	354,116.00

North Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (Chicago)	1865	75,846.01
Baltimore Association	1864-1867	128,716.00
American Union Commission (largely for whites)	1864-1865	54,000.00
Delaware Association	1869	<u>7,348.00</u>

Estimated total giving
of Freedmen's Aid
Societies to Negro Education, 1862-1874 2,000,000.00#

Total donated to
Freedmen's education
and relief, 1861-
1889, estimated \$20,732,887.13
(total of #'s)

*This table was compiled largely from material found in Julius H. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1861-1871," Negro Education; a Study in the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, I (Washington, 1917), 296; J. L. M. Curry, The Education of the Negro Since 1860 (Baltimore, 1894), pp. 22-25; Henry L. Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870 (Nashville, 1941), pp. 12-21; Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, 1945), pp. 206-11; and reports and articles appearing in the American Missionary, 1861-1888.

TABLE II

SECULAR AND DENOMINATIONAL FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES

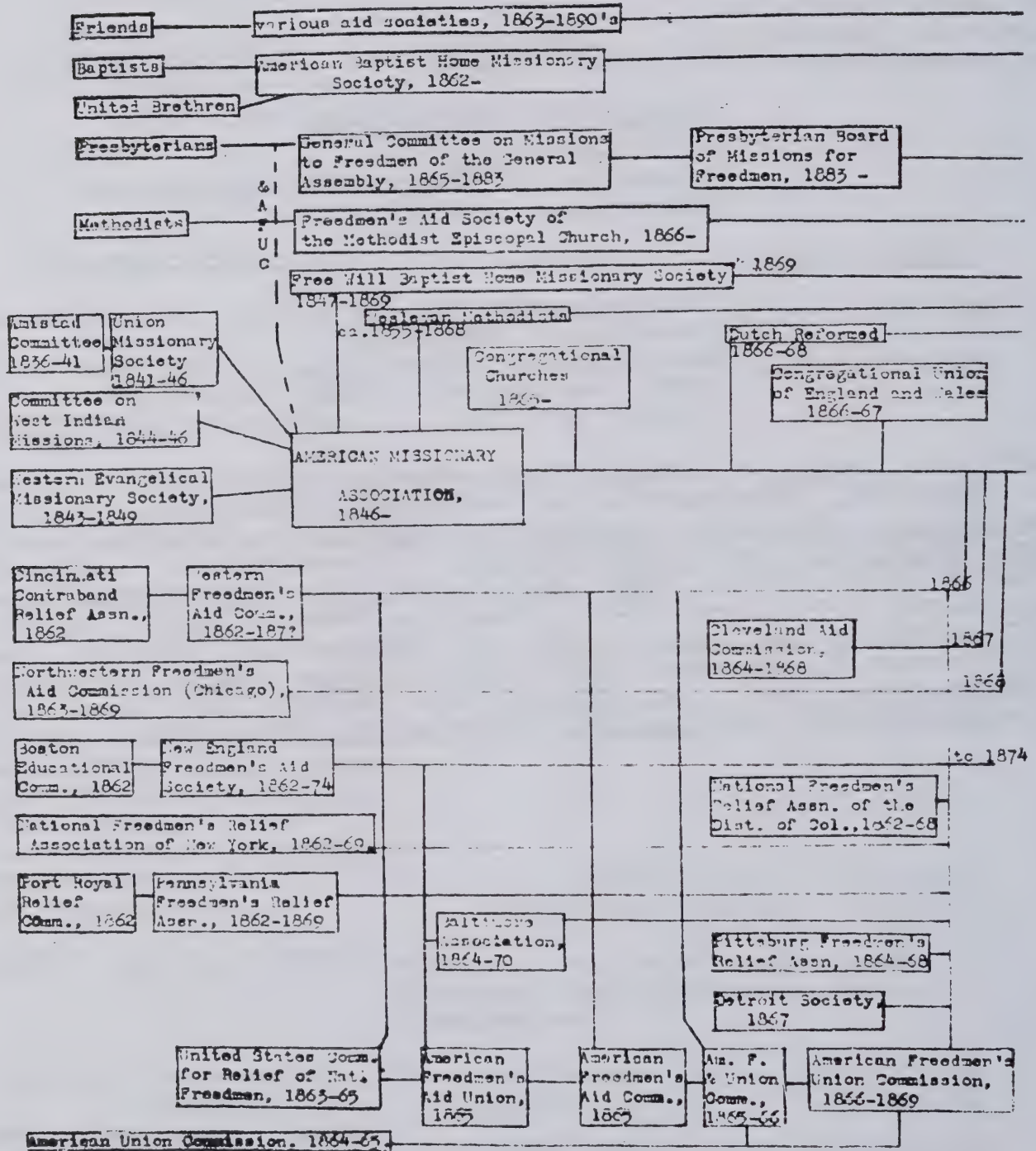


TABLE III^{*}

EXPENDITURES BY THE A.M.A. DURING THE DECADE
OF THE 1860's SHOWING THE INCREASING
EMPHASIS UPON THE SOUTHERN FREEDMEN

<u>Fiscal year, Oct. 1 to Sept. 30</u>	<u>Home Missions</u>	<u>Southern Freedmen</u>	<u>Total at Home and Abroad</u>
1860-1861	\$13,919.59	\$111.97	\$51,819.00
1861-1862	8,395.96	8,705.08	51,462.52
1862-1863	6,345.55	16,517.10	57,651.25
1863-1864	3,888.48	55,788.41	96,305.30
1864-1865	5,008.26	95,785.23	139,660.37
1865-1866	2,765.95	213,212.78	271,586.78
1866-1867	312.15	285,892.96	343,528.62
1867-1868	20.00	291,218.33	357,918.81
1868-1869	10.00	304,012.75	367,895.86
1869-1870	25.00	351,978.80	421,217.61

* Compiled from Annual Report of the American Missionary Association, 1861-1870.

TABLE IV*

THE DEBT OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY
ASSOCIATION

1861	.	.	.	.	.	\$13,576.26
1862	.	.	.	.	.	12,969.37
1863	.	.	.	.	.	[?]
1864	.	.	.	.	.	[?]
1865	.	.	.	.	.	[?]
1866	.	.	.	.	.	18,540.80
1867	.	.	.	.	.	36,411.14
1868	.	.	.	.	.	87,726.59
1869	.	.	.	.	.	83,286.73
1870	.	.	.	.	.	77,991.90
1871	.	.	.	.	.	61,861.84
1872	.	.	.	.	.	59,920.58
1873	.	.	.	.	.	55,481.26
1874	.	.	.	.	.	79,750.56
1875	.	.	.	.	.	96,559.20
1876	.	.	.	.	.	93,232.99
1877	.	.	.	.	.	62,816.90
1878	.	.	.	.	.	37,389.79
1879	.	.	.	.	.	0.00
1880	.	.	.	.	.	0.00
1881	.	.	.	.	.	0.00
1882	.	.	.	.	.	0.00
1883	.	.	.	.	.	0.00
1884	.	.	.	.	.	13,785.86
1885	.	.	.	.	.	29,237.73
1886	.	.	.	.	.	5,783.71
1887	.	.	.	.	.	0.00
1888	.	.	.	.	.	5,641.21
1889	.	.	.	.	.	0.00

*Compiled from the American Missionary, 1861-1889.

TABLE V

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY
ASSOCIATION, 1846-1890

Fiscal Year	Regular Income	Clothing Donated	Grand Total Cash Receipts
1846-47	\$11,328.27		(including:
1850-51	34,535.47		1) Freedmen's
1855-56	49,818.50		Bureau funds,
1858-59	50,511.76		2) Gifts to in-
1860-61	47,828.42		dividual A.M.A.
1861-62	47,062.60		institutions,
1862-63	57,404.58		3) Regular
1863-64	95,395.83		A.M.A. income)
1864-65	134,181.18	\$61,674.40	
1865-66	253,045.98	105,441.00	
1866-67	248,044.65	89,443.00	\$334,582.59
1867-68	258,908.13		304,094.13
1868-69	312,016.96		367,895.08
1869-70	300,563.90		438,321.90
1870-71	277,948.51		366,824.82
1871-72	242,553.23		329,938.93
1872-73	275,101.48		345,277.03
1873-74	278,695.84		349,914.96
1874-75	195,123.00		273,533.22
1875-76	184,062.15		264,709.03
1876-77	209,695.26		306,099.95
1877-78	195,601.65		257,092.75
1878-79	215,431.17		334,450.67
1879-80	187,480.02		290,101.81 ⁺
1880-81	243,795.23		529,046.23
1881-82	297,584.45		510,113.94
1882-83	312,567.29		474,409.14
1883-84	287,594.19		407,831.70
1884-85	290,894.06		419,813.17
1885-86	335,704.20		466,353.71
1886-87	306,761.31		426,589.02
1887-88	320,953.42		414,196.16
1888-89	396,216.88		413,716.59 [#]
1889-90	408,038.97		442,725.73

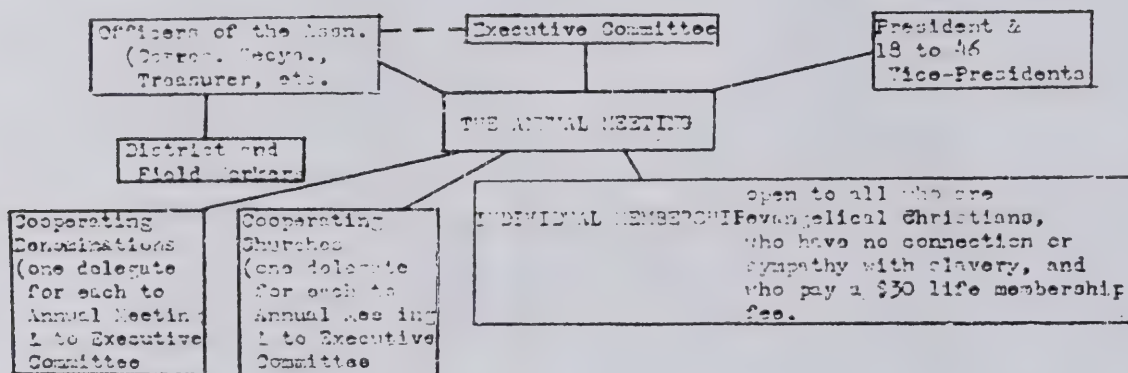
* Largely from American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1891), p. 87.

⁺Plus Sone gift of \$150,000.

[#]Plus Daniel Hand Fund of \$1,000,894.25.

TABLE VI
CONSTITUTIONAL SET-UP
of the
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Constitution of 1846



Constitution Revision
of 1883

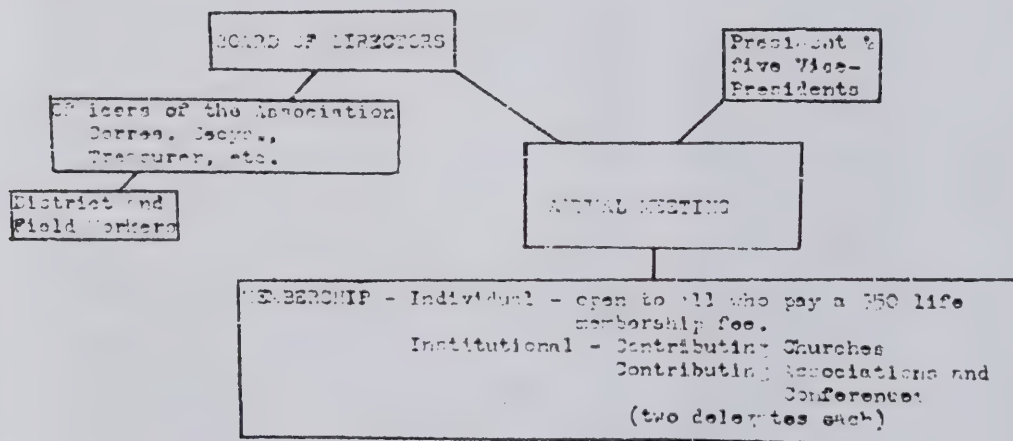


TABLE VII*

CHURCHES SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN
MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, 1861-1890

<u>Date</u>	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Sunday</u>	<u>Gifts to</u>
		<u>Membership</u>	<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Missions</u>

Period of no direction:

1861	2
1862	3
1863	3
1864	4
1865	5
1866	5
1867	8
1868	14
1869	19

Church alongside of school policy—inaugurated at
Chattanooga Conference:

1870	26			
1871	32	ca. 1,150		2,292
1872	39			
1873	41			
1874	48			
1875	49	ca. 3,900		7,981

Period of Active Evangelization inaugurated by
Atlanta Conference:

1876	56	ca. 4,000		
1877	59	4,048		7,036
1878	64	4,189		7,517

James E. Roy becomes Superintendent

1879	67	4,600		
1880	73	4,961		

J. C. Fields becomes a travelling evangelist for the A.M.A.

1881	78	5,472		8,130	
1882	83	5,641	\$9,306.00	7,835	\$1,496.50
1883	89	5,974	12,027.00	9,406	1,049.35
1884					
1885	112	6,881	12,394.78	10,569	1,625.86
1886	124	7,571	13,549.00	13,149	1,711.55
1887	127	7,896	16,014.50	15,109	2,322.51

1888	131	8,065	16,023
1889	136 ⁺	8,438	14,735
1890	128 [#]	7,978	17,032

* From American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association: its Churches and Educational Institutions Among the Freedmen, Indians and Chinese with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1874), p. 40; and annual reports on churches taken from the December number of the American Missionary, 1875-1890.

⁺ Twenty-two of these churches were among the Mountain Whites of the South.

[#] This includes also seven churches among the Indians.

TABLE VIII*

MISSIONARIES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
1861 to 1889

<u>Date</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Among the Freedmen</u>	<u>Teachers of Freedmen</u>
1860	162	0	
1861		1	
1862			
1863		84	
1864		256	
1865		338	286
1866	381	353	
1867	528	465	399
1868	532	476 ⁺	
1869	533	492	461
1870		525 [#]	
1871		309 [#]	
1872			245
1873			
1874	323	267	
1875	275	184	
1876		195	147
1877	162	134	
1878	280	219	150
1879	296	253	
1880	330	284	
1881	320	276	
1882			241 ^{&}
1883			279 ^{&}
1884			319 ^{&}
1885	416	327	250 ^{&}
1886	426	336	239
1887			246
1888	410	321	266
1889			260

* Compiled from the annual reports on Churches appearing annually in the December number of the American Missionary

⁺Plus 37 Free Will Baptists.

[#]Plus 15 Free Will Baptists.

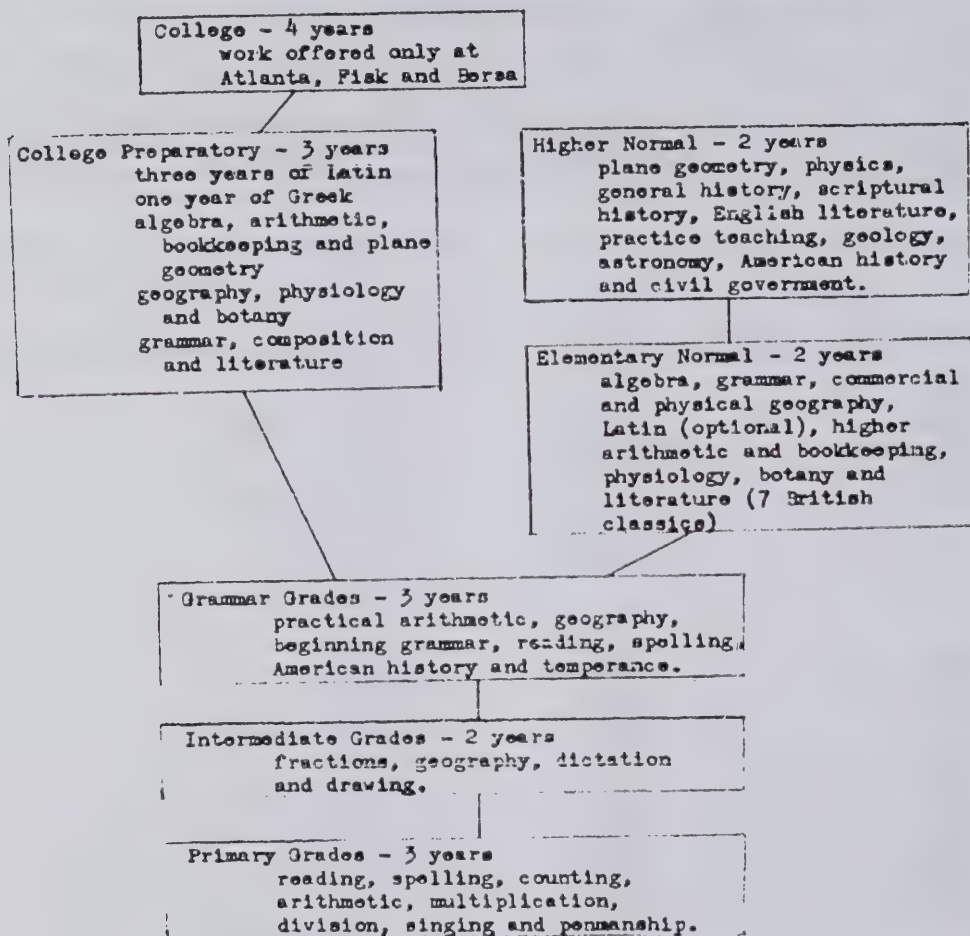
[&]Plus 9 Free Will Baptists.

[&]Lists all faculty of A.M.A. founded schools.

[&]Berea and Hampton no longer listed.

TABLE IX^{*}

THE EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID OF
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION



* Albert Salisbury, Course of Study for the Schools of the American Missionary Association Adopted by the Executive Committee, October 9, 1883, with General Suggestions to Teachers, Prepared by Albert Salisbury, A.M., Superintendent of Education, A.M.A. (Atlanta, 1883), pp. 4-9.

TABLE X*

PUBLIC FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO SCHOOLS FOUNDED
AND STAFFED BY THE AMERICAN
MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

State Appropriations: out of land scrip allotted by
Congress through the Morrill Land Grant College
Act of 1862.

Georgia	\$116,000	to Atlanta University
Mississippi	39,000 (?)	to Tougaloo
Virginia	95,000	to Hampton

Local Appropriations:

<u>Location of School Board</u>	<u>June, 1867- Dec., 1871</u>	<u>1872-5</u>	<u>1876-9</u>	<u>1880-8</u>
Alabama				
Athens	\$650	\$979	\$428	000
Montgomery	3,200	11,932	5,997	\$3,751
Mobile	7,133	000	000	000
Marion	1,887	2,487	000	000
Selma	3,800	17,344	3,383	000
Talladega	500	870	000	000
Georgia				
Atlanta	000	8,406	000	000
Andersonville	000	135	000	000
Macon	000	4,531	000	000
Savannah	000	000	300	000
Tennessee	1,000			
Memphis	7,800	000	000	000
Chattanooga	1,690	5,726	000	000
Arkansas	50			
Batesville	242	000	000	000
Fayetteville	300	105	000	000
Pine Bluff	151	500	000	000
Fort Smith	000	300	000	000
Mississippi				
Columbus	477	9,292	000	000
Natchez	66	000	000	000
Tougaloo	000	4,182	3,311	000
Aberdeen	000	109	000	000
Monroe County	000	56	000	000
Raymond	000	483	000	000
South Carolina				
Beaufort	400	69	000	000

Charleston	\$000	\$192	\$000	\$000
Greenwood	000	000	000	42
North Carolina	140			
Raleigh	135	1,000	1,411	000
Wilmington	000	4,754	000	000
Dudley	000	156	000	180
Allamance	000	37	000	000
McLeansville	000	000	162	000
Texas				
Indianola	000	180	000	000
Louisiana				
New Orleans	000	95	000	000
Florida				
St. Augustine	000	000	000	738

*Compiled from the lists of contributors to the A.M.A. which appear monthly in the American Missionary.

APPENDIX A ^{*}

OFFICERS OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION 1846-1890

<u>Presidents</u>	<u>Date of Election</u>	<u>Date of death or resignation</u>
William Jackson	1846	1854
Lawrence Brainard	1854	1859
Rev. David Thurston	1859	1865
Rev. E. N. Kirk, D.D.	1865	1874
William A. Buckingham	1874	1875
E. S. Tobey	1875	1881
W. B. Washburn, Ll.D.	1881	1887
Rev. William M. Taylor	1888	

Vice-Presidents

Rev. Theodore S. Wright	1846	1847
F. D. Parish	1846	1883
Professor C. C. Cleveland	1846	1869
Rev. David Thurston	1846	1859
Rev. J. W. C. Pennington	1847	1848
Rev. G. W. Perkins	1848	1854
Rev. S. E. Cornish	1851	1859
Rev. Jonathan Blanchard	1853	1878
William Jackson	1854	1855
J. P. Williston	1855	1871
Arthur Tappan	1859	1865
Jacob Butler	1859	1871
E. D. Holton	1859	1883
Rev. John Lowry	1862	1865
William Claflin	1863	1883
George Shepard, D.D.	1864	1868
Rev. Leonard S. Parker	1864	1870
Silas McKeen, D.D.	1864	1878
Rev. E. N. Kirk	1864	1865
I. Washburn	1864	1869
William C. Chapin	1864	1883
S. W. S. Dutton, D.D.	1864	1866
John P. Elton	1864	1865

A. C. Barstow	1864	1883
Leonard D. Swain, D.D.	1864	1869
J. P. Thompson, D.D.	1864	1867
Ray Palmer, D.D.	1864	1883
A.H. Porter	1864	1869 ?
Charles B. Boynton, D.D.	1864	1868
J. M. Sturtevant, D.D.	1864	1883
Edward Beecher, D.D.	1864	1871
Edward Beecher, D.D.	1879	1883
W. W. Patton, D.D. - the younger	1864	1883
Seymour Straight	1864	1883
Lewis Tappan	1865	1873
Cyrus Pringle, D.D.	1865	1867
D. M. Graham, D.D.	1865	1878
Horace Hallock	1865	1880
F. A. Noble, D.D.	1866	1869
F. A. Noble, D.D.	1878	
W. T. Eustis, D.D.	1866	1883
Rev. Adam Crooks	1867	1871
Rev. J. J. Smith	1868	1871
General C. B. Fisk	1868	1875
Rev. Sella Martin	1868	1869
Cyrus W. Wallace, D.D.	1868	1883
Thatcher Thayer, D.D.	1869	1883
Edward Hawes, D.D.	1869	1883
Thaddeus Fairbanks	1869	1883
E. S. Tobey	1869	1875
E. S. Tobey	1882	1883
Samuel D. Porter	1869	1880
General O. O. Howard	1869	1871
General O. O. Howard	1875	1883
M. McG. Dana, D.D.	1869	1883
Rev. Edward L. Clark	1869	1878
J. E. Roy, D.D.	1869	1870
G. F. Magoun, D.D.	1869	1883
Professor Charles Seecomb	1869	1871
Edward Spalding, M.D.	1870	1883
Colonel C. G. Hammond	1870	1883
George B. Bacon, D.D.	1871	1876
David Ripley	1871	1880
William M. Barbour, D.D.	1871	1883
Henry Wilson	1871	1876
Rev. W. L. Gage	1871	1883
A. S. Hatch	1871	1883
J. H. Fairchild, D.D.	1871	1883
H. A. Stimson, D.D.	1871	1883
J. W. Strong, D.D.	1871	1880
W. A. Buckingham	1871	1874

Rev. George Thatcher	1871	1879
A. L. Stone, D.D.	1871	1883
G. H. Atkinson, D.D.	1871	1883
J. E. Rankin, D.D.	1871	1884
Rev. H. W. Beecher	1872	1883
Douglas Putnam	1872	1883
A. L. Chapin, D.D.	1872	1883
S. D. Smith	1872	1883
Hon. E. P. Smith	1873	1876
Rev. H. M. Parsons	1873	1878
Peter Smith	1873	1880
Deacon John C. Whiting	1873	1882
Hon. J. B. Grinnell	1874	1883
W. Patton, D.D.-the elder	1874	1879
Rev. William T. Carr	1875	1880
Rev. Horace Winslow	1875	1883
William E. Whiting	1876	1882
J. M. Pinkerton	1876	1881
Daniel Hand	1876	1883
A. L. Williston	1878	1881
A. F. Beard, D.D.	1878	1883
Frederick Billings	1878	1883
Joseph Carpenter	1878	1883
Andrew Lester	1879	1880
E. A. Graves	1879	1883
E. P. Goodwin, D.D.	1879	1883
C. L. Goodell, D.C.	1879	1886
J. W. Scoville	1879	1883
E. W. Blatchford	1879	1883
C. D. Talcott	1879	1882
John K. McLean, D.D.	1879	1883
Richard Cordley, D.D.	1879	1883
W. H. Willcox, D.D.	1880	1883
G. B. Willcox, D.D.	1880	1883
William M. Taylor, D.D.	1880	1883
George M. Boynton, D.D.	1880	1883
E. B. Webb, D.D.	1880	1883
Hon. C. I. Walker	1880	1883
A. H. Ross, D.D.	1880	1883
L. T. Chamberlain, D.D.	1881	1883
Hon. Joshua L. Chamberlain	1881	1883
Alexander McKenzie, D.D.	1881	
Hon. Nelson Dingley, Jr.	1881	1883
A. J. F. Behrends, D.D.	1883	
D. P. Mears, D.D.	1884	
Henry Hopkins, D.D.	1886	

Corresponding Secretaries

George Whipple, D.D.	1847	1876
Rev. S. S. Jocelyn	1853	1863
M. E. Strieby, D.D.	1865	
Rev. J. R. Shipherd	1866	1868
W. W. Patton, D.D.	1868	1870
James Powell, D.D.	1887	1887
A. F. Beard, D.D.	1887	
Frank P. Woodbury, D.D.	1890	

Associate Corresponding Secretaries

James Powell, D.D.	1885	1887
A. F. Beard, D.D.	1885	1887

Assistant Corresponding Secretary

James Powell, D.D.	1883	1885
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Recording Secretaries

Rev. S. S. Jocelyn	1846	1853
Langdon S. Ward	1853	1854
Rev. Henry Belden	1854	1875
George Whipple, D.D.	1875	1876
M. E. Strieby, D.D.	1876	

Treasurers

Lewis Tappan	1846	1865
Edgar Ketchum	1866	1879
H. W. Hubbard	1879	

Assistant Treasurers

William E. Whiting	1865	1876
H. W. Hubbard	1876	1879

Executive Committee

Arthur Tappan	1846	1857
Rev. Theodore S. Wright	1846	1847
Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn	1846	1855
Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn	1863	1879
Rev. Amos A. Phelps	1846	1847
Rev. Charles B. Bay	1846	1856
Rev. J. R. Johnson	1846	1847
Rev. S. E. Cornish	1846	1855

William H. Pillow	1846	1848
William E. Whiting	1846	1872
Rev. J. W. C. Pennington	1846	1847
Rev. J. W. C. Pennington	1848	1851
Rev. Josiah Brewer	1846	1863
Rev. Edward Reed	1846	1848
Rev. Henry H. Garnet	1847	1848
Rev. Henry H. Garnet	1856	1861
William Harned	1847	1853
Rev. Sherlock Bristol	1847	1848
Anthony Lane	1847	1856
Anthony Lane	1861	1863
Thomas Ritter, M.D.	1848	1876
J. P. Bennett	1848	1876
M. S. Scudder	1848	1852
Rev. J. A. Paine	1851	1855
Rev. C. B. Dana	1852	1853
Rev. Henry Belden	1853	1875
J. R. Lee, M.D.	1853	1855
D. M. Graham, D.D.	1853	1861
D. M. Graham, D.D.	1864	1865
Rev. J. N. Freeman	1855	1860
George H. White	1855	1861
William B. Brown, D.D.	1855	1880
W. T. Dawley	1856	1858
Rev. Almon Underwood	1857	1858
Samuel Wilde	1858	1862
Alonzo S. Ball, M.D.	1858	1884
T. C. Fanning	1860	1869
Captain C. B. Wilder	1861	1864
Rev. John Lowrey	1861	1862
R. R. Graves	1862	1863
Rev. J. M. Holmes	1862	1869
Andrew Lester	1863	1879
Thomas S. Berry	1863	1864
Samuel Holmes	1864	
Rev. Sella Martin	1864	1868
Rev. S. W. Magill	1864	1866
Cyrus Frindle, D.D.	1864	1865
S. N. Davis	1865	1870
J. B. Beadle	1865	1877
Edgar Ketchum	1866	1868
Edgar Ketchum	1879	1881
M. E. Strieby	1866	1867
George Whipple, D.D.	1866	1867
G. D. Pike, D.D.	1868	1872
Hon. E. P. Smith	1868	1871
A. S. Barnes	1869	1888
G. B. Willcox, D.D.	1869	1880

E. M. Cravath, D.D.	1870	1872
H. M. Storrs, D.D.	1870	1875
Washington Gladden, D.D.	1871	1875
R. G. Hutchins, D.D.	1871	1872
Stephen Ballard	1871	1872
General O. O. Howard	1871	1875
Edward Beecher, D.D.	1872	1879
Rev. S. B. Halliday	1872	
Dwight Johnson	1872	1874
General C. B. Fisk	1875	1890
Charles L. Mead	1875	
George M. Boynton, D.D.	1876	1880
E. A. Graves	1876	1879
John H. Washburn	1876	
Addison P. Foster	1877	
General C. T. Christensen	1879	1883
Charles A. Hull	1879	1884
Charles A. Hull	1888	
William T. Pratt	1879	1881
J. A. Shoudy	1879	1881
H. L. Clapp	1880	1881
Rev. J. A. Hamilton	1880	1882
S. S. Marples	1880	
Lyman Abbott, D.D.	1881	
Franklin Fairbanks	1881	1883
William H. Ward, D.D.	1881	
A. L. Williston	1881	1883
J. R. Danforth	1883	1888
Edward Hawes, D.D.	1883	1884
S. H. Virgin, D.D.	1883	1885
J. L. Withrow, D.D.	1883	1886
E. B. Monroe	1884	
J. E. Rankin, D.D.	1884	1890
E. L. Champlin	1885	
J. W. Cooper, D.D.	1886	
A. J. Lyman, D.D.	1888	
J. G. Johnson, D.D.	1890	1891
Charles Marsh	1890	

Field Secretaries and Superintendents

Samuel Hunt (Supt. of Schools)	1864	1866
Edward P. Smith	1866	1870
Rev. E. M. Cravath	1870	1875
Prof. Thomas N. Chase	1877	1878
Rev. Joseph E. Roy	1878	1885
Prof. Albert Salisbury (Supt. of Schools)	1882	1885

Rev. C. J. Ryder	1885	1888
Rev. Frank E. Jenkins	1888	
Prof. Edward S. Hall (Supt. of Schools)	1888	1888

Secretary of Indian Work

Rev. Edward P. Smith	1870	1873
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Financial Secretary of Indian Work

Rev. Charles W. Shelton	1885	
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Secretary of Women's Bureau

Miss Delia E. Emerson	1883	
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District Secretaries of A.M.A., 1866-1888

Boston - 1866-1888

Rev. C. L. Woodworth	1866	1883
Rev. James Powell	1883	1884
Rev. C. L. Woodworth	1884	1888
Rev. C. J. Ryder	1888	

Cincinnati - 1866-1870

Rev. Edward P. Smith	1866	1866
Rev. E. M. Cravath	1866	1870

This office was transferred to New York in 1870 when Rev. E. P. Smith went into Government Service as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Mr. Cravath went to New York to take Smith's place as Field Secretary. Levi Coffin was left as general agent at Cincinnati, a position he retained until his death.

New York - 1870-1884

Rev. Gustavus D. Pike	1870	1873
Rev. James Powell	1873	1874
Rev. Gustavus D. Pike	1874	1884

In 1884 this Department was divided. Because of broken health, Mr. Pike was given charge of Connecticut and Western Massachusetts which he administered from Hartford. The remainder of this "Middle Department" was administered by Rev. James Powell who took the title of "Associate Corresponding Secretary."

Rev. James Powell	1884	1885
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Chicago - 1866-1888

Rev. William DeLoss Love	1866	1866
Rev. Jacob R. Shipherd ⁺	1866	1868

General Charles H. Howard	1868	1873
Rev. William W. Patton	1873	1874
Rev. James Powell	1874	1884
Rev. Charles W. Shelton	1884	1885
Rev. James E. Roy	1885	

*Largely taken from American Missionary Association, History of the American Missionary Association with Illustrative Facts and Anecdotes (New York, 1891), pp. 89-94.

+title of "Western Secretary."

APPENDIX B*

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, 1857-1888, WITH THE LEADERS AND BENEFACTORS OF THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS

Howard University Theological Department

1872 - Rev. J. B. Reeves sustained as
professor

1876 - President W. W. Patton along with
Professors Craighead, Newman and
Butler sustained.

CHARTERED INSTITUTIONS

Berea College - 1857 (Began instruction in 1855, dropped
from A.M.A. lists in 1885)
J. A. R. Rogers, John G. Fee and
E. H. Fairchild

Fisk University - 1867 (Began instruction in 1866)
John Ogden (to 1870), A. K. Spence,
E. M. Cravath, H. S. Bennett and
George L. White. General Fisk con-
tributed heavily in early years.
Jubilee Singers.

Atlanta University - 1867 (Began instruction in 1869,
dropped from A.M.A. lists in 1889)
E. A. Ware (to 1885), Horace Bum-
stead and Professors Francis and
Chase. State of Georgia approp-
riations until 1887. William E.
Dodge.

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute - 1870 (Began
instruction in 1867, dropped from
A.M.A. lists in 1885) S. C. Arm-
strong and J. F. B. Marshall.
Became the land grant college for
Negroes in Virginia.

Talladega College - 1869 (Began instruction in 1867)
H. E. Brown, A. A. Safford, E. P.
Lord, H. S. DeForest and George

- W. Andrews. General Wager Swayne, Rev. L. Foster, R. B. Graves.
- Straight University - 1869
J. W. Healy, C. H. Thompson, Rev. J. A. Adams, Professor McPherron, W. S. Alexander and R. C. Hitchcock. Seymour Straight and John C. Whitin.
- Tougaloo University - 1871 (Began instruction in 1869)
L. A. Darling, G. Stanley Pope, F. G. Woodworth. State of Mississippi appropriations.
- Tillotson College - 1878
W. E. Brooks, John Kershaw and Henry L. Hubbell. Rev. George J. Tillotson.
- Edward Smith College - 1882 (This school never opened its doors although it was chartered by the State of Arkansas to operate in Little Rock.)

NORMAL AND HIGHER SCHOOLS

- Avery Institute (Charleston, South Carolina) - 1865
F. L. Cardozo, M. H. Warren and S. D. Gaylord were perhaps the most important of the numerous principals. The gifts of Rev. Charles Avery and of General Rufus Saxon of the Freedmen's Bureau were instrumental in starting this school.
- Lewis High School (Macon, Georgia), later to become Ballard Institute - 1865
Rev. John A. Rockwell was the first principal. S. E. Lathrop, the founder of the unique circulating library at Lewis, was minister of the local church. Named for the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau in Georgia, John B. Lewis and Stephen A. Ballard of New York City.
- Emerson Institute (Mobile, Alabama) - 1867
G. L. Putnam, E. P. Lord, O. D. Crawford and George P. Armstrong were the more important principals. Major benefactors were Ralph Emerson of Rockford, Illinois, and the Freedmen's Bureau.

Beach Institute (Savannah, Georgia) - 1867

J. W. Alvord while with the American Tract Society opened the work in Savannah, but it was soon turned over to the A.M.A. Alfred E. Beach, editor of the Scientific American was the early benefactor.

Ely Normal (Louisville, Kentucky) - 1868

This school was taken over by the city in 1874.

Williston School (Wilmington, North Carolina), later became Gregory Institute in 1885 - 1866

H. S. Beals and S. S. Ashley were the early founders. Daniel D. Dodge was principal for many years. The major benefactors were J. P. Williston of Northampton, Massachusetts, and J. J. H. Gregory of Marblehead, Massachusetts.

Washburn Seminary (Beaufort, North Carolina) - 1865

Named for Ichabod Washburn of Worcester, Massachusetts, suspended in 1875 but reopened in the twentieth century.

Howard School (Lexington, Kentucky) - 1869

Suspended by 1875, but reopened in 1882. Azel Hatch principal after 1887.

Ariel Academy (Camp Nelson, Kentucky) - 1869

Suspended about 1875, reopened as an elementary school in 1882.

Lincoln School (Memphis, Tennessee) - 1869 (first opened in 1866)

Turned over to the city in 1870, but quickly run in a way most prejudicial to the Negro population. Because of this the Association soon established another school in Memphis -

LeMoyne School (Memphis, Tennessee) - 1871

Begun with a large gift from Dr. Julius Y. LeMoyne, a prominent abolitionist from Washington, Pennsylvania. Joseph H. Barnum and A. J. Steele were early principals. Laura Parmelee served here for several years after teaching at Andersonville, Georgia and Straight

University.

Howard School (Chattanooga, Tennessee) - 1869

E. O. Tade and B. F. Koons, principals before turned over to the city in 1876.

Storrs School (Atlanta, Georgia) - 1867

E. A. Ware was the first principal of this school. The well loved Miss Amy Williams served from 1869 until 1885. Named for Rev. H. M. Storrs of Cincinnati whose church gave the original \$1,000.

Swayne School (Montgomery, Alabama) - 1868

G. Stanley Pope was the first principal. In 1874 the city began aiding this school, and by 1884 this school was no longer carried on the A.M.A.'s lists.

Burrell School (Selma, Alabama) - 1868

Rev. J. Silsby was the first head of this school. During the 1870's it was aided by the city during which time the principal, E. C. Silsby, kept the Association and the city school board balanced in support of the school. By 1874 Burrell had become a public school, although the Association listed the school until 1884. Named for Jabez Burrell of Oberlin, Ohio, who gave the original \$10,000.

Lincoln School (Marion, Alabama) - 1868

Rev. J. Silsby was the founder of this school, too. In 1874 this school became Lincoln Memorial Institute and was handed over to the state on the strength of a four thousand dollar a year appropriation. Unfortunately, the persons in charge of the state school misappropriated many funds, although Silsby, who was retained on the faculty, seems not to have been involved in them.

Trinity School (Athens, Alabama) - 1866

Miss M. F. Wells served this school for over thirty years making it a large force for the development of Negro education in northern Alabama.

- Fort Smith Normal (Fort Smith, Arkansas) - 1870-1871
never a successful school.
- Pine Bluff Normal (Pine Bluff, Arkansas) - 1870-1876
never very successful, although the state took over the property.
- Columbus Union Academy (Columbus, Mississippi) - 1870
Begun amid a community of anti-slavery Southerners, and for a time it was felt that this academy should be the A.M.A's principal educational enterprise in Mississippi. J. N. Bishop and T. S. Wood were principals before it closed in 1877.
- Collegiate Institute of Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge, Louisiana) - 1870-1871
never a successful school.
- Normal School (Jacksonville, Florida) - 1870
Became Stanton Normal, closed in 1878.
- Barnes Institute (Galveston, Texas) - 1871
Closed in 1875.
- Washington School (Raleigh, North Carolina) - 1878
Never very successful.
- Brewer Normal School (Greenwood, South Carolina) - 1878
J. E. B. Jewett was principal in the late 1880's.
- Knox Academy (Athens, Georgia) - 1868
Begun as a common school in 1868, later offered normal studies.
- Albany Institute (Albany, Georgia) - 1870
Begun as a common school in 1870, later offered normal studies.
- Williamsburg Academy (Williamsburg, Kentucky) - 1884
The first of the schools for Southern mountain whites supported by the Association. W. E. Wheeler and Frank E. Jenkins were the principals.
- Quitman Institute (Quitman, Georgia) - 1885-1886
Begun as an industrial institute for Negro girls, but burned by incendiaries after only a few months of operation. Made possible by a gift of land and a hotel building by Mrs. F. L. Allen. J. H. Parr was principal.
- Dorchester Academy (McIntosh, Georgia) -
Sustained as an elementary school in the 1870's by the community made up of the Negro members of old Midway Church. By 1889 it had become a graded school. Rev. Floyd Snelson, the first

theological graduate of an A.M.A. school, was the central personality in this school.

Allen Normal and Industrial School (Thomasville, Georgia) - 1887

Successor to Quitman Institute. Mrs. W. L. Gordon was the first principal.

Jonesboro School (Jonesboro, Tennessee) - 1887

A Southern mountain white school.

Grand View Academy (Grandview, Tennessee) - 1887

A Southern mountain white school.

Pleasant Hill Academy (Pleasant Hill, Tennessee) - 1887

Eventually became the principal Southern mountain white school sustained by the A.M.A.

COMMON SCHOOLS

From 1861 to 1871 - sustained a total of 343 teachers in common schools located as follows:

Washington, D.C.	2	Mississippi	28
Maryland	4	Tennessee	16
Delaware	2	Kentucky	52
Virginia	51	Iowa	2
North Carolina	17	Illinois	14
South Carolina	12	Missouri	13
Georgia	41	Arkansas	17
Florida	7	Louisiana	21
Alabama	16	Texas	15

1869 - Association directly supplied 59 teachers to 46 locations as follows:

Georgia	2	Indiana	2
Alabama	3	Kentucky	34
Tennessee	6		

1871 - 147 common schools as follows:

Maryland	1	Tennessee	2
District of Columbia	1	Kentucky	24
Virginia	18	Missouri	9
North Carolina	8	Kansas	3
South Carolina	3	Louisiana	19
Georgia	17	Mississippi	20
Florida	5	Texas	10
Alabama	3	Arkansas	10

1872	69	common schools, 99 teachers				
1874	13	" "				
1876	6	" "				
1878	18	" "				
1879	24	" "				
1880	18	" "				
1882	38	" "				
1883	42	" "				
1884	43	" "				
1885	36	" "				
1886	65	" "				

33 of these common schools were in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas.

1887 32 common schools

1891 42 common schools as follows:

North Carolina	13	Texas	4
Kentucky	3	Alabama	11
Georgia	8	Mississippi	1
Florida	1	Arkansas	1

* Largely from the American Missionary.

8/24/2009

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